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Report on Armenia-Azerbaijan Contact in Ankara

MK2404115093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 1

[Liana Minasyan report under the rubric "Talks": "Armenia-Azerbaijan Meetings in Ankara—First Experience of Contact Between Ter-Petrosyan and Elchibey]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey, together with Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, have had, as many people know, a face-to-face meeting, after which the Armenian president spent another hour and a half talking with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. This came after an official funeral ceremony for Turkish President Turgut Ozal. The dialogues naturally were devoted primarily to the Karabakh problem which, Ankara officialdom thinks, weighs down Armenia's relations with Turkey and other countries.

The two presidents' talks proved to be an outstanding event at least because they were the first and the only ones to date. Up to now, Abulfaz Elchibey refused even formal contacts, while Yerevan answered, each time prospects of a summit were discussed, that it would make sense only provided there was a stable cease-fire. If not, the violation of truce would not only devalue prior arrangements, but also the presidents' signatures put to them. Risking one's reputation in an unstable situation was considered undesirable.

Chances are that the events in Karabakh which preceded the Ankara talks paved the way for the meeting. As for the meeting itself, it demonstrated that dialogue is generally possible. Conditions for dialogue will be agreed upon later, although a meeting (even not at such a high level) between representatives of Azerbaijan and Karabakh would hold greater practical interest. Under current circumstances, Yerevan is obliged to represent both positions—its own and that of Nagorno-Karabakh. But those are not always identical.

When the Armenian delegation returned home, Presidential Press Secretary Aram Abramyan said that "the Ankara meetings were not routine diplomatic contacts." An agreement was reached to preclude armed intervention by third forces in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Turkish Prime Minister Demirel, too, went along with the main propositions of these talks. Both presidents will be helping along CSCE reconciliation efforts, and Elchibey subscribed to the view that there should be a single Karabakh peace settlement process within the CSCE framework.

This means that Azerbaijan perhaps agrees to rejoin the Minsk group talks without linking their progress to changes in the situation in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon. At any rate, Nagorno-Karabakh has made an accommodating move by declaring that it contemplates no claims against this territory. The Kelbadzhar question could be resolved provided there are guarantees of security for Karabakh's population. At the meeting, Levon Ter-Petrosyan outlined Armenia's position: first a cease-fire, then discussion of political problems. Both presidents agreed that all issues could be resolved through talks after that.

There was also a meeting of the republic's executive with Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze, and the republic's Foreign Minister Vaan Papazyan had a closed-door discussion with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, who was in Ankara.

Prague Meeting Discusses Cease-Fire

TA2604102693 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] The cease-fire declared between Azerbaijan and Armenia because of the CSCE observer delegation's visit in the area has been extended until 28 April. It was reported that the cease-fire, which will be observed on all fronts, was extended because of the CSCE meeting on the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict to begin in Prague today.

According to a report by the Azerbaijani-Turkish News Agency, Armenia consented to the extension of the cease-fire following the initiatives of Turkey, the United States, and Russia. The Armenians in Karabakh also agreed to the extension of the cease-fire. A CSCE committee is expected to convene in Prague today on request of Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan-Armenian Talks Held in Moscow

LD2604203393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] According to a NEGA report, several rounds of talks between representatives of the Government of Azerbaijan and the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian community have taken place in Moscow in an atmosphere of strict confidentiality through the mediation of Russia. The talks have not yielded any results.

Security Zone Discussed

LD2704084093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] According to the NEGA agency, several rounds to talks between representatives of the government of Azerbaijan and the leadership of the Armenian community of Nagorno-Karabakh have been held in Moscow, with the mediation of the Russian side. Moreover, it has become known that in the course of the recent meeting in Moscow between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Azerbaijan's Secretary of State Panakh Guseynov the possibility of creating a security zone around Nagorno-Karabakh was examined. As is being proposed, both Azerbaijani and Armenian formations have to be withdrawn from this zone and peackeeping forces introduced.

Shaposhnikov Hits Back at PRAVDA Allegations

PM2304114993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 3

[Article by Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces: "Reaction: The Marshal Thinks Otherwise. How Much Can Be Tolerated?"]

[Text] The history of our fatherland overflows with denunciations, slander, repressions, blood, and struggle.

I do not want—indeed, there is no time—to undertake a profound analysis of the origins of these phenomena, which feed off beautiful slogans aimed at the good of man and spawn a constant quest for domestic and foreign enemies.

I will dwell merely on one page in our history—the history of the USSR Air Forces, which was led by 17 commanders.

The Great Soviet Encyclopedia published in the 1950's does not even mention the names of a whole host of my predecessors.

These names did appear in the 1986 edition of the Military Encyclopedic Dictionary, but there is not a word about the commanders' tragic fates. What is this? Is it the inertia of hypocrisy and cowardice, or something else?

Yes, the Stalinist syndrome is so deeply rooted within us that even decades later a spade is not called a spade in our country, and the tragic fates of those who lived and fought for our sakes and paved the way for us are not shown.

I am talking about nine leaders of our Air Forces, six of whom were shot as "enemies of the people," two of whom perished in mysterious air disasters, and one, placed in unbearable conditions, died from physical and emotional exhaustion.

Here are their names: K.V. Akashev, A.V. Sergeyev, A.A. Znamenskiy, A.P. Rozengolts, P.I. Baranov, Ya.I. Alksnis, A.D. Loktionov, Ya.V. Smushkevich, and P.V. Rychagov. It would be interesting to know if there is any other country in the world which has washed its hands of people so unceremoniously, so callously—via denunciations, subterfuge, slander, and deceit?

Postwar history also holds examples of reprisals. This is confirmed by the fate of Air Forces Commander in Chief A.A. Novikov, and other commanders.

Thus over 50 percent of my predecessors commanding the country's Air Forces alone suffered repression—blatant, calculated, and, most importantly, undeserved and illegal.

You would have thought all this was a thing of the past—with democratization, glasnost, and efforts to build a rule-of-law state in which the individual would never be dependent on another individual, and in which, moreover, he would be freed not only from lies and slander, but also from the need to justify himself, insofar as lies and slander should be pursued by law, so the person from whom they originate should be the one to have to justify himself.

But far from it. There are people—unfortunately, quite a few—who cannot or do not want to live in a society worthy of the individual, for whom it is simply dreadful if there are no denunciations, lies, slander, and other such filth.

This is loathsome, and what is even more loathsome is that such slander drips from the pages of newspapers and from the television screen and poisons millions of uninitiated people, and causes conflict and division between us. How much can be tolerated?

In its 22 April edition this year, under the pretentious headline "Collusion Behind the People's Backs" and with the conspiratorially ambiguous attribution "Own Information," PRAVDA published a report in which a number of knowingly false, slanderous claims were aimed at discrediting the CIS Joint Armed Forces commander in chief.

It is difficult to say which is most prevalent in the report—peremptoriness, incompetence, effrontery, falsehood, or irresponsibility. It is impossible to describe it as anything other than the ravings of a sick imagination, particularly the allegation that CIS Armed Forces Commander in Chief Shaposhnikov (incidentally, it would do no harm for "Own Information" and, with him, PRAVDA to know that Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov

is the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces) "ordered experts subordinate to him to guarantee every kind of assistance to their NATO colleagues and help in radio-navigation control and guidance of aircraft over Serbian cities." For one thing, no such "order" exists at all, and for another there are simply no such "experts" subordinate to the CIS Joint Armed Forces commander in chief, and even if there were I would sooner die than issue such orders.

The slanderous allegation—"elegantly" described in PRAVDA's report as "a news item not requiring any comment"—claiming that NATO General Shalikashvili received from me assurances that "CIS troops will fulfill any orders from the NATO leadership regarding the situation in Serbia" is also an unforgivable lie. I fulfill the orders of the law and conscience, and nothing else. Likewise, the allegation of my involvement in what is going on in Karabakh is groundless because back at the beginning of this year I appealed to the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia to be allowed to act as an intermediary between the two states' military departments for the purposes of halting the fratricidal war.

It is a source of surprise and regret that PRAVDA, employing the services of dubious sources, should circulate lies and slander of a type which can only be described as basic political provocation.

I demand that the liar and slanderer, who perverts human souls and obviously suffers from nostalgia for a past which has gone forever, be called to account.

Is it really the case that you, Mr. Slanderer, have to this day failed to understand that your time has passed. Wake up! And as for PRAVDA, it is time it started to live up to its name.

Shaposhnikov on Problems in Joint Forces, Air Defense

LD2604224793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0130 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Interview with Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, by reporter Yuliya Zheglova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Zheglova] [passage omitted] Chernobyl has become a sad metaphor. It can be said that its consequences can be compared to possible consequences to which the absence of an effective system of collective security in the CIS might lead. This system is vital for us. At least Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of the CIS joint armed forces, firmly believes this. He is at our microphone today.

[Shaposhnikov] In principle we are resolving a unique task. Joint armed forces in the past were set up from armed forces of sovereign and independent states. We, who have single armed forces, have moved toward forming our own armed forces and in parallel we are resolving the task of setting up joint armed forces. The uniqueness of the task has given rise to several approaches, so to speak. The first approach is as follows: As long as we have not set up our own armed forces, it seems as if it will be difficult for us to set up joint armed forces. And the second approach, which is more constructive, is as follows: By not destroying the single armed forces down to the foundation and smoothly re-forming them into joint forces, it will be possible to resolve this task.

For example, air defense. At present Russia is forced to build its new air defense system along the Caucasus range, although a single air defense system could have been preserved, providing efforts had been made to achieve peace in the Transcaucasus by political means. Russia would have had its eyes and ears beyond its boundaries and even on territories of states with which it has common borders.

Or take Central Asia. We have an absurd situation there. One operational command—an air defense army—used to cover the Central Asian region. At present this army has been dismembered and it turns out that the army which is deployed on the territory of three states is now doing nobody knows what. I mean, there are certain things which cannot be divided.

All 11 presidents have signed an agreement to form the CIS, but the agreement has only been ratified by nine states; not be Moldova and Azerbaijan. We have agreed on collective security. Six states have signed the collective security treaty. These are Russia, Kazakhstan, the Central Asia states except Turkmenistan and Armenia, and again everything is hanging in the air in fact. It exists only as a declaration; they wrote "yes." On the other hand, political leaders as well as the military men and scientists realize that it should be brought up to date and organized in some way.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 27 Apr

LD2704053193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0443 GMT 27 Apr 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—"The referendum has been held. What next?" ask today's Russia's newspapers analysing the outcome of the all-Russia referendum of April 25.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes: "The cautious people of Russia have said: it would be better not to change anything for the time being". But the preliminary results of the referendum are more favourable for the president than for the opposition, the newspaper observes. "Yeltsin may consider himself a winner only by half. He won the people's confidence in himself but did not secure that the electorate give the go ahead to replace the incumbent people's deputies".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), newspaper of the Russian defence ministry, views the fact that the all-Russia referendum has been held as the chief result of the plebiscite.

In the opinion of PRAVDA, "a triumph expected by the president has not been achieved. The confrontation ended in a draw in which the sides have driven themselves into a situation which inevitably leads to deterioration of their position and that of Russia as well".

"Two years ago, Yeltsin was supported by 42.8 per cent of voters in Russia. This indicator has now declined, according to preliminary data, by not less than 10 per cent. This means that the 'popularly elected' president now relies, at best, on one third of citizens of the Russian Federation," PRAVDA pointed out.

TRUD comments on a statement by Russian Parliament Chief Ruslan Khasbulatov who said that the referendum "has split society and became a stage on the way to weakening the state". The newspaper notes: the tone of the statement makes it possible to judge that "the referendum has not introduced any tranquility or reconciliation to the political struggle."

"The main events in the political struggle, apparently, lie ahead. In short, if the referendum did bring about a split finally, it did so among politicians," TRUD concludes.

"Contrary to forecasts and predictions, contrary to the stern realities of economic life and the logic of common sense, people in Russia in a majority vote expressed confidence in President Yeltsin and his economic policy course", Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov, writes in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA about the preliminary results of the referendum. Isakov analyses in detail the causes of such, as he put it, 'paradoxical' polling results.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries a big article, headlined "the genetic price of Chernobyl", in connection with the seventh anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster. The article summarises one of four volumes of research done within one year by the Chernobyl Commission who have gathered an immense amount of factual material in 100 populated areas affected by the disaster.

The commission considers the genetic consequences of the Chernobyl accident of April 26, 1986. "Every million of people are deprived of 10,000 years of life" are the main consequences of the disaster for mankind, the commission researchers maintain.

Anatoly Sidorov, vice-president of the Academy of Natural Sciences, critically analyses the government's economic policy in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. The scientist proceeds from the premise that "the Russian crisis has a systemic nature. In order to get out of it it is essential to reform not only the economy but also the political system, and to change the psychology of the nation and, in a broad sense, culture as well".

On the strength of an analysis of facts, Sidorov shows that the Russian government did not and does not have clear-cut scientifically verified strategy and tactics for carrying out reforms in the country.

Yeltsin Calls For 'Decisive Measures' on Yugoslavia

LD2704110093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0955 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr--"The Russian Federation will not protect those who set themselves in opposition to the world community. Both the Serb nationalists and any other participants in the conflict who bank on force will be dealt a firm rebuff by the United Nations," a statement by President Boris Yeltsin, which was circulated today, says.

"The Russian president's statement of 9 March stressed that there was no alternative to the Vance-Owen plan and pointed out that any of the opposing sides which did not adopt it in principle would assume a heavy responsibility," the document notes. "Today, in spite of all the efforts that have been made, the plan has been rejected by the assembly of the Bosnian Serbs. Their referendum on the Vance-Owen plan in the middle of May needs to take a more well-considered decision."

"This is the motivation for our proposals of such options for action as meetings between the warring sides under the aegis of the cochairmen and the foreign ministers of the UN permanent member-states in the conflict area, the stationing of UN observers in the hot spots of Bosnia-Herzegovina and on its borders, and the convocation of either a second session of the London conference or a special conference on the former Yugoslavia in the context of pan-Balkan security," Yeltsin's statement stresses. "The time has come for decisive measures to put an end to the conflict."

"In the present conditions the unity of the permanent members of the Security Council, the EC and all peace-loving states and international organizations is particularly necessary," the statement says.

Kozyrev Hopes Referendum Has 'Sobering' Impact on FRY

LD2604182493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy, in a Moscow office on 26 April; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Beletskiy] Andrey Vladimirovich, how do you assess the latest events in connection with Yugoslavia?

[Kozyrev] I am afraid that the national patriotic forces in Belgrade, not without prompting from some of our deputies, possibly expected that similar national patriotic forces would gain the upper hand in Moscow. Let's hope that the results of the referendum will have a sobering effect on them, and that in the end they will choose a path toward peaceful solutions, and not solutions where force is involved, especially taking into account the fact that much blood has already been shed there. But it will be a great political error to count on Russia pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the forces it rejects at home. The other thing is that we will be firmly in favor of both the cessation of bloodshed, and if need be, harsh measures on the part of international community, and a further search for political solutions. This is not at all an alternative, but the same policy aimed at establishing peace in Yugoslavia on the basis of balance.

Future Military Action in FRY Called 'Catastrophe'

LD2604182993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Interview with Yevgeniy Arshakovich Ambartsumov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Links, by correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Beletskiy] Yevgeniy Arshakovich, you have just returned from Yugoslavia. At first hand, how do you assess the positions of various groups in regard to settling the conflict?

[Ambartsumov] No matter how paradoxical, when the situation is more tense than very recently, nevertheless I think there is now greater possibility for peaceful settlement than some time ago. On the whole, all the sides, especially the Croats and the Muslims, are tired of war. They are prepared, first and foremost the Croats, for direct talks with the Serbs. I think that Serbia on the whole, in principle, having had the military victory, could make some territorial concessions. But as regards a cease-fire, naturally, our delegation was unanimous in saying that this is obligatory. This is the very first thing which must be achieved. Second is our fairly restrained attitude to sanctions. I am not speaking about shades of opinions—from Deputy Nikolay Pavlov to Deputy Viktor Shenis; everyone considers that the Security Council resolutions are unsuccessful and that sanctions are not the way to bring Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslavia, closer to peace. But the most important thing, which I want to warn against are military sanctions, military interference—that would be a catastrophe if the world community goes along this road. I hope that Russia will vote and use its veto. At the same time, I want to stress that this does not mean that Russia will support any adventurist policies, for example by the Serbs, the Bosnian Serbs.

'No Alternative' to Political Settlement in Bosnia

LD2704113193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1054 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—There is no alternative to a political settlement in Bosnia, according to spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

"It is necessary to preserve the unified international approach to the settlement and avoid unilateral, unreasoned and power actions", Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said at a briefing on Tuesday [27 April].

"The Russian Federation did not and will not patronize those who oppose the international community", he added.

Yastrzhembskiy does not believe that "a serious scenario of an armed intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina was considered at those international forums which are engaged in solving the problem".

He reiterated that Russia stands for a peaceful and political settlement in former Yugoslavia and takes all effort both on the international and bilateral level to achieve the goal.

Deputy Minister: FRY Stance 'Remains Unchanged'

LD2704083093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0805 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS military analyst Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—"The stand of the Russian Defence Ministry on the peaceful settlement of the conflict in former Yugoslavia remains unchanged. We do not plan to increase Russian military presence in the conflict area," ITAR-TASS was told by Russian Deputy Defence Minister Colonel-General Georgiy Kondratyev. He flew to Brussels today morning to attend a meeting of the chiefs of staff of countries-members of the North Atlantic Council, scheduled for April 28. [sentence as received] The council includes NATO countries, the east European states, and the former republics of the Soviet Union. Its forthcoming meeting will be mostly devoted to the Yugoslavian problem.

Kondratyev recalled that a separate airborne battalion, numbering about 900 men, was now taking part in U.N. peace-keeping operations on the territory of Croatia. A part of the battalion was replaced this April by men from the 106th Ryazan Interior Troops Division. Russian paratroopers, who have undergone special training, now control the eastern sector of the disengagement line, patrol highways and man 30 checkpoints.

"If need be, we are ready to deliver humanitarian aid by military transport aviation to areas indicated by the United Nations. At the same time, the Russian Defence Ministry gives absolute priority to political methods in settling the conflict," the Russian deputy defence minister said.

Impact of Yugoslav Sanctions on Russian Economy Viewed

PM2604141793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 3

[Yevgeniy Fadeyev report: "The Price of 'Civilized' Sanctions"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—A few days ago, the republic statistics administration announced that losses incurred by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a result of the sanctions which have been in force for almost a year amount to over $10 billion. Product exports in March, compared to the same month last year, fell 77.4 percent, while imports fell 81.4 percent. [passage omitted]

The only result of the sanctions is a catastrophic drop in the living standards of workers. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA has already reported that Russia has lost billions from adhering to the sanctions. Now I will cite two specific examples. Last year, commodity turnover between Serbia and Russia reached $3.2 billion. Where is this currency now? A contract signed with the Serbs to import $3.5 billion worth of our oil and gas has been wrecked. Adopting sanctions against a friendly country at such expense to oneself is beyond comprehension! Admittedly, the great minds on Smolensk Square played the trump card from their chief's hand: Before sanctions, Russia owed Yugoslavia $1.6 billion—now this money does not have to be repaid just yet. Another example of "new political thinking" is this: We were forced to support the embargo against Serbia, otherwise we would not have received credits. China, which abstained from voting a year ago, continues nevertheless to receive credit from the West, and in far greater quantities than Moscow.

Let us take another country—Romania. Before the embargo was introduced, the former Yugoslavia considered this country to be its sixth largest trading partner. Now, according to economists' estimates, its neighbors have suffered losses to the value of $5 billion. And what about Bulgaria, Hungary, and Greece, all of which border Serbia? Who has estimated their losses from the sanctions?

...So how much are the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro worth? Here the press poses this question every day. And one answer is arrived at—the true calculation lies ahead.

But now imagine what will happen if the UN Security Council carries out its latest threat and closes even more relentlessly the ring of blockade around the new Yugoslavia?

Official on UNITA Action, Ukrainian START Stance

LD2704125493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Sergey Staroselsky]

[Text] Moscow, April 27 (TASS)—"The Russian Foreign Ministry strongly protests against a bandit action, committed by the UNITA in Angola," head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Directorate Sergey Yastrzhembsky told a briefing here today in connection with an incident that had occurred in Angola on April 26, when an AN-12 plane with a Russian crew on board was damaged by a UNITA missile. Yastrzhembsky noted that the crew was able to land the burning plane, but two pilots blew up on mines and received grave injuries when alighting from the aircraft.

"The plane, belonging to the joint Syktyvkar Air Detachment, was rented by the world food programme to deliver humanitarian aid to the peaceful population of Angola," Yastrzhembsky stated. "This is not the first case when Russian planes, discharging humanitarian missions, were subjected to unprovoked attacks, during which Russian citizens have suffered," he added.

"The Russian Foreign Ministry demands from the international community urgent and tough measures to cut short such bandit actions. The guilty must be strictly punished. In light of this, we want the U.N. Security Council to adopt a special decision, assessing this action, and also to ensure the safety of people working in Angola under the aegis of the United Nations and other international organisations," Yastrzhembsky stated.

Commenting on the recent meeting between Armenian and Azeri presidents in Turkey, the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department recalled that it was held with the mediation of Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and Turkey. "We expect this meeting to contribute primarily to the resumption of the entire range of efforts to settle the Karabakh conflict within the frameworks of the Minsk CSCE group," he stressed. Yastrzhembsky positively assessed the fact that this meeting was finally held and the efforts exerted by the states that helped to convene it. "Such meetings," he stated, "often help to do away quite promptly with many accretions and problems, on which diplomats and politicians of a lower rank sometimes rack their heads for many long months [sentence as received]."

"Russia is surprised by the statement made by Ukrainian Minister for the Protection of the Environment Yuriy Kostenko during a recent press conference, devoted to the Ukrainian parliament's preparations to ratify the START-1 treaty, claiming that Ukraine is a nuclear power," Yastrzhembsky stated.

He noted that Leonid Kravchuk, the Ukrainian president, bluntly stated the other day that Ukraine was not a nuclear power. "This situation cannot be described otherwise than Ukraine's 'nuclear drift', as we have earlier assessed it," he added.

"Having signed the Lisbon Protocol," Yastrzhembsky recalled, "Ukraine had voluntarily assumed a commitment to join the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty as a nuclear-free state. All the rights and obligations, linked with the possession of the former USSR's nuclear weapons, have been relegated only to Russia."

Mr. Kostenko has also claimed that Russia had allegedly threatened to discontinue nuclear fuel deliveries to Ukrainian atomic power plants. "This statement is a complete fabrication," the Russian diplomat stated. "Russia, as always, expects Ukraine to scrupulously fulfil international agreements and has repeatedly declared its readiness to help Ukraine implement the commitments it had assumed in respect to nuclear weapons," Yastrzhembsky stressed. "The statement made by a minister, who heads the Ukrainian delegation to the talks on the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory, merely complicates the situation and the Russian side cannot be indifferent to it," he added.

'Certain Cooling' Noted in Relations With U.S.

PM2604131793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 3

[Vladislav Drobkov report: "Same Old Story.... Practical Results of the 'Special Relationship' Between Washington and Moscow Not Yet in Evidence"]

[Text] Washington, 23 April—As the Americans themselves never tire of stating right now, the West's offer of massive aid to Russia to conduct market reforms could become a vital support to Boris Yeltsin. However, as is noted here, all the proclaimed aid "packages" contain just old funds already earmarked for Russia, new credits of benefit primarily to the benefactors themselves, or paper commitments not to recover old debts now but to roll them over.

Straight after the meeting in Vancouver reports appeared in a segment of the American press and in the majority of Russian newspapers which all but hailed the beginning of a new era of cooperation, of a "special relationship" between Russia and the United States. There were predictions for the implementation of major joint projects, including Russia's participation in creating an American space station and laboratory, the development of trade—in particular opening up the U.S. market for Russian uranium—and the removal of old restrictions dating from cold war times. Alas, it is the same old story.... Immersed in its own concerns and fears, America is in no hurry to "switch its sights toward Russia," even despite the fact that its "best option," as Vice President A. Gore described Yeltsin, could really do right now with a demonstration of the concrete results of this "special relationship" with the United States.

Moreover, a certain cooling can even be perceived in relations between Moscow and Washington. No, Yeltsin is still by far the most popular Russian politician in the current administration. As Secretary of State W. Christopher noted a few days ago, "Yeltsin is far more attractive for the West than anybody else...." The problem is that the United States is not prepared to "waive its principles" and its own interests even for Yeltsin's sake.

The U.S. Administration needs both funds and efforts to be channeled into the home front.

Article Discusses Future of U.S. Relations

PM2604123393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 5

[Article by Sergey Rogov, deputy director of the Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute: "How Can We Go Beyond Mutual Nuclear Deterrence"]

[Text] Even if they lack conflicting interests Russia and the United States still retain a gigantic military, primarily nuclear, potential, the ability to destroy one another within 30 minutes. This confers a special character on their relations distinguishing them from relations with any other powers. In B. Clinton's opinion, eliminating the nuclear threat from the former USSR is a matter of paramount importance: "No other national security problem is more urgent than the question of who controls the former Soviet empire's nuclear weapons and technologies."

Presumably a new kind of Russian-U.S. collaboration in the strategic sphere will be a priority sphere of partnership between the former rivals. Their strategic forces are continuing their confrontation today within the framework of the mutual nuclear deterrence inherited from the "cold war." Moreover, the reserve of strategic stability, particularly in a crisis, is extremely low since both sides, fearing a disabling, preemptive attack, are keeping their missiles in a state of permanent readiness for a retaliatory or counter attack.

Russia and the United States can hardly go rapidly beyond the framework of the mutual nuclear deterrence scenario. However, over the next few years they can considerably strengthen strategic stability by abandoning the concept of a retaliatory or counter attack and switching to the kind of configuration and composition of nuclear forces that would enable them to rely totally on the concept of a guaranteed retaliatory strike.

Implementing the START I Treaty alone, a treaty which only envisages quantitative cuts but does not qualitatively change the nature of the strategic confrontation, is not enough to ensure this. What is needed is the ratification of the START II Treaty, which Clinton's predecessor signed just two weeks before the change of White House incumbent. That will make it possible to preserve Russian-U.S. nuclear parity, reduce the level of nuclear confrontation, and not only quantitatively reduce the sides' nuclear forces, but also eliminate the most destabilizing arms systems that possess counterforce capabilities.

Russia's agreeing to destroy its ground-launched MIRVed ICBM's undoubtedly drastically reduces the threat to U.S. national security. In turn, the Americans have pledged to reduce the number of warheads on their submarine-launched ballistic missiles, thus radically reducing the threat of a preemptive counterforce strike for the Russian side.

Is this adequate compensation for the concession made by Russia, which will now have to reorganize totally its strategic triad. The abandonment of the overwhelming majority of ground-launched missiles and reliance on the naval and aviation component of the strategic forces will necessitate considerable expenditure by Russia. Citing this along with the vulnerability of Russia's strategic submarines to U.S. ASW systems and the weakness of Russia's long-range aviation, conservative circles in Russia are trying to block the START II Treaty, which has, regrettably, fallen hostage to the domestic political struggle.

However, our enemies of the START II Treaty refuse to consider that, without that treaty, missiles on Ukrainian territory will not be destroyed, that republic being clearly reluctant to honor its pledge to subscribe to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as a nuclear-free state. What is more, if ratification of the START II Treaty is wrecked, the START I Treaty will hardly be implemented either, thus giving Ukraine an opportunity to own nuclear missiles. This will undoubtedly boost the nuclear ambitions of states like India, Pakistan, and Iran, not to mention North Korea and Iraq. How will Germany and Japan react to the breakdown of the Nonproliferation Treaty and the expansion of the "nuclear club"?

Clearly, Russia and the United States have an interest in preserving the nonproliferation regime. The new administration has indicated that it intends to act more resolutely to prevent Ukraine's attempts to "nationalize" the nuclear weapons on its territory. Ukraine will hardly honor its commitment to subscribe to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty without pressure from Clinton. At the same time the Americans may agree to a number of measures that will make it possible to limit their advantages in the strategic forces at sea and reduce the threat to our submarines. Cooperation in mutually reducing the level of the strategic forces' combat readiness and the implementation of coordinated measures to qualitatively rather than quantitatively reinforce strategic stability are also extremely possible. Such steps may in particular envisage central storage of heavy bombers' nuclear arms, changing the nose sections of missiles on which the number of warheads is being reduced (for instance, the D-5 missiles of Trident-2 submarines that are being "downloaded" from eight to four warheads each) in order to ensure that it is technically impossible to fit them with additional warheads, limiting combat

patrol areas and the number of strategic submarines on combat patrol, and restricting the activity of ASW systems near the permanent bases of the other side's strategic submarines. What is more, the sides could agree to cooperate in early warning and create a number of systems for shared use, including in space. That would help avoid dangerous technical mistakes, particularly in conditions when Russia has destroyed the Krasnoyarsk radar, while radars in the other former Soviet republics have become their property.

Evidently, extensive U.S.-Russian cooperation in supervising sales of conventional arms and military technology is also quite feasible. That is the second sphere in which the two powers will evidently engage in active cooperation under Clinton. That kind of cooperation will obviously be needed on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis. Otherwise, an uncontrolled arms trade may drastically destabilize the situation in highly explosive areas, including the Near and Far East. At the same time the United States must take Russia's legitimate interests into consideration and agree to talks on trade in arms and military technology, including allocating Russia a quota on the world market.

Finally, Russia and the United States must cooperate in creating new regional and global mechanisms to ensure international security. It is necessary to realize the potential of the United Nations, which was set up as an instrument for maintaining security in a multipolar world. The bipolar system of international relations that emerged as a result of the Soviet-U.S. conflict paralyzed the United Nations, whereas it can now fulfill its role. The prospects for Russian-U.S. cooperation in keeping international peace under UN auspices are extremely favorable now. Thus, a move to strategic partnership not only will be in the interests of our two states, but also will help strengthen international peace and security.

(Footnote) (Professor Sergey Mikhaylovich Rogov is deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute and a doctor of historical sciences. He has written 10 books and around 300 scientific articles on problems pertaining to the United States and Canada and Soviet-U.S. and Russian-U.S. relations).

Senator Cited on Ratification of Aid Package

PM2604140993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Battle Unfolds in U.S. Congress To Ratify Appropriations for Russian Aid"]

[Text] Washington—The influential Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy has criticized Clinton's Democratic Administration for so far failing to have clearly decided its strategy to get the U.S. Congress to adopt the latest aid programs for Russia and the other countries of the former Union.

The senator heads the subcommittee of the upper house of Congress through which the request for new funds to aid the reform process in the CIS will have to pass. He said: "I am extremely concerned that the administration has so far failed to face up to realities and is acting on the erroneous premise that senators who currently support aid for Russia will continue to support such aid when opposition among Americans to requests for new funds intensifies."

"The requests will clearly not be popular," the senator went on. He himself, incidentally, is vehemently in favor of expanding aid to Russia. "How many times have we said the following during hearings concerning various requests for foreign aid—Yes, this is absolutely essential—and then public opinion is polled and the request scrapped."

The very first Russian aid package—the one announced at the Vancouver summit and estimated at $1.6 billion—does not need to be ratified by the Congress since it uses money allocated under the Bush Administration. But the White House has declared its readiness to allocate something in the region of another $2 billion and get this money approved by an "extraordinary supplement" to the federal budget for this fiscal year. Congress' participation cannot be avoided here and, soberly assessing the situation on Capitol Hill, Leahy said that it would be better if the administration were to abandon the "extraordinary supplement" and incorporate its request in the draft budget for fiscal 1994.

The advisability of that approach, the senator indicated, resides in the fact that when discussing next year's budget the Congress will in all probability cut traditional spending—totaling $5.1 billion—on aid for Israel and Egypt, something that has always been considered inviolate, and it would in that case be more feasible to expect the Russian aid package to be ratified.

Leahy pointed out that the United States spends $3-4 per capita on aid for Russia whereas the figure is $600 for Israel. "Even if we give Israel 10 percent less, it will still be the world's major recipient of U.S. aid," the senator stressed.

The White House is publicly ruling out the likelihood of a cut in aid to Israel. However, a growing number of legislators are starting to view this idea with understanding, an idea put forward about three years ago by Republican Senator Robert Dole, who immediately came in for fierce criticism at the time from many of his colleagues and the press.

Richard Gephardt, Democratic Majority leader in the House of Representatives, recently returned from a tour of a number of CIS countries and said that the United States "must review its aid program for all countries, Israel included."

Intelligence Service Suspicious of POW Commission Aims

PM2704092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 8

[Kseniya Rozova report: "Lest the Intelligence Service Be Caught Napping"]

[Text] The Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] is one of the departments involved on our side in forming the Russian-U.S. Commission on POW's (even though the CIA is officially not represented on the commission). So I invited official FIS representative Colonel Vyacheslav Mazurov to express his view on the commission's work. Mazurov is convinced that from the outset the service found itself a place on our side of the commission at the prompting of Russian specialists unconcerned with intelligence tasks. The intelligence service is not the department where information about U.S. POW's is concentrated.

But let us go back to the beginning. If you remember, the reason why the commission stepped up its work was Boris Yeltsin's speech to the U.S. Congress in which he said that, if just one captured U.S. soldier were alive on Russian territory, we would do our utmost to find him.

Where did this statement originate? As Vyacheslav Mazurov explains, the background was simple. A Soviet detainee, on emerging from a not-too-distant place, called the Americans and stated that he had allegedly done time with a former U.S. airman. This was in mid-May last year. The Americans presented Yeltsin with this fact just before he made his speech, and they themselves were engaged in rechecking it. Our own services also checked out the story. The Americans were then persuaded that they had made a mistake, but they kept the matter quiet. The mechanism of public interest had been set in motion. The commission had been established and started work.

The FIS, once it was decided to include it, also worked on the commission,. The service gave the Americans information about 510 POW's and 27 persons without citizenship who fought in Korea. This was fragmentary information, of course—family names mentioned in Korean reports. Moreover the FIS organized a meeting between the Americans and Oleg Nechiporenko, who had once flown to Vietnam to interview a captured U.S. agent. But the U.S. press nevertheless became increasingly insistent that the FIS was hiding Americans and refusing to "let them go." U.S. Cochairman Malcolm Toon even said so at the commission's latest session.

But let us get back to certain facts at the disposal of Vycheslav Mazurov. He believes that the Americans are unhappy with the commission's work "on purpose." They have realized that we really cannot be holding any of their POW's, but it is hard for them to admit this to the U.S. public now that its interested has been excited. But even this factor, Mazurov believes, is only a facade, wheras the real reason could be something entirely different. The following fact will help us to draw a conclusion: As well as the Korean War, the Americans are also interested in the Vietnam period. They gave the Russian side a list of 3,752 people. The FIS began to check it through carefully and conscientiously. And it turned out that a good third of these soldiers had returned home at an earlier date. So why were they included on the list? To check how our intelligence service works? "I don't rule that out," Vyacheslav Mazurov says.

Nevertheless let us not deny the positive result of the commission's work. It has done work on two other topics: The story of U.S. aircraft shot down over USSR territory during the Cold War, and the fate of Soviet soldiers captured in Afghanistan. It is important for us to know about these pages of history. The FIS will continue to participate in the commission's work.

Commentary on Russian-U.S. Exercises in Laptev Sea

LD2604144093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Russia and the United States have ended joint military exercises in the Laptev Sea off Russia's coast. Designed to coordinate efforts in rescuing disaster-stricken air crews, the exercises were the first of its kind held by the two countries since the end of World War II.

Both Russia and the United States are involved in active exploration of the northern most parts of the world, whose adverse climate and navigation conditions, long distances and uninhabited expanses are not conducive for risk-free air traffic, so cooperation is needed to help rescue air crews in the event of an accident.

United States Air Force General Joseph Ralston, leading the American contingent, said the operation was a success beyond all expectations and that the atmosphere of trust between senior officers on both sides was greater than he could have wished for.

He spoke of contacts with Siberia being very important. General Ralston said that in the event of an accident he could easily get on line [as heard] with his Russian counterpart, being confident of a positive response and he added that this worked both ways.

Politically, the event marks a shift in international relations, including those between Moscow and Washington, leading to the replacement of confrontation by cooperation. The military on both sides do no longer see each other as adversaries. Instead, they now have a chance of cooperating with and knowing each other better which, in itself, is helping to improve the overall political environment.

Navy Press Center Rejects Ukrainian Deputies' Claims

PM2604123193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 2

[Correspondent Vladimir Maryukha report: "Accusations Against Black Sea Fleet Command Unfounded"]

[Text] The Navy press center rejects the conjectures of the Ukrainian People's Deputies who sent an open letter to President Leonid Kravchuk.

According to a Russian Federation Navy Press Center statement, since August 1992 the fleet's Main Staff has not issued a single document about transferring Black Sea Fleet ships outside its zone of responsibility, in other fleets. Since evacuating the Russian-speaking population from Poti, not one Black Sea Fleet ship has taken part in any regional conflict—which is what the deputies accuse the Black Sea Fleet sailors of doing. Incidentally, the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense expressed its thanks to the Black Sea Fleet command for this operation, but the December voyage is being passed off as one which is happening today.

The statement describes as "canards" information about alleged discrimination against officers who have transferred to the Ukrainian Navy, the placing of Black Sea Fleet marines in a state of combat readiness, and other conjectures. They appeared with the sole aim of removing responsibility from the Ukrainian side for unilateral actions which violate the Yalta agreements.

Taking the path of confrontation and mutual recrimination is no way to resolve the problem of the Black Sea. Dialogue, thanks to which, for example, 645 cadets from Sevastopol will continue their studies in Russian schools, is the only possible way of avoiding a new wave of tension over the Black Sea Fleet, which is what such letters by deputies and statements from the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and other Ukrainian state structures and sociopolitical organizations are leading to.

Russian Commander Interviewed on Tajik Rebels

LD2404174893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Apr 93

[Studio interview with Major-General Mukhredin Ashurovich Ashurov, commander of the 201st Russian Motorized Infantry Division, by correspondent Igor Krando; introduced by presenter Vyacheslav Morozov; date not given; from the "Armed Forces and Society" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Morozov] Russians are concerned not only with their own problems, they are also closely following events in all CIS republics. Tajikistan, which is being torn by political contradictions, is today one of the hotspots on the map of the former Union. The presence of Russian troops in the republic, has, by and large, preserved quite a few human lives and has rescued from plundering tonnes of foodstuffs and fuel. Correspondent Igor Krando met Major-General Mukhredin Ashurovich Ashurov, commander of the 201st Russian Motorized Infantry Division. Here is how he assesses the situation:

[Ashurov] The guerrillas are now training across the border. This is mainly in three to four areas. The combat groups that were here have not all been eliminated. They have dispersed into small groups, into cells. They have their own command, leadership, radio communications and even Stingers, American surface-to-air missiles, for hitting targets in the air. Let me tell you that the kind of well-being that has so far been achieved, it has had been achieved in the republic through compliance with legislation and observance of public order, through forming its own armed forces as soon as possible and not permitting a repetition of the incident which began last year again in April to May.

For the time being the Islamists have not yet abandoned their ideas of waging a fight, and according to my calculations, they have a sizable group and it is indeed seeking to wage, or, as they say, to begin the revenge operation. There is such a possibility, but you see, I am not a prophet, I cannot say when it will start, but they have the desire and their structures are operating. We are also carrying out reconnaissance and we are receiving data to the effect that they have indeed been concentrating their forces, and that they could—I am not saying that they will do so—but that could still put up armed resistance and could still for the time being wage combat operations here on the territory of the republic of Tajikistan. There are many weapons here—some 40,000 firing arms—in the hands not only of the Islamists, but also in the hands of racketeers, marauders, etc. But the situation, compared with what is was previously, has more or less stabilized.

[Krando] Now, at the present stage, Tajikistan's Armed Forces are being formed. If an offensive, a spring offensive, which is being talked of, is started against the positions, will the present-day Armed Forces if Tajikistan be able to rebuff them without the intervention of the 201st Division?

[Ashurov] They are capable of rebuffing them. Why? Because the brigade of the Committee of National Security is now concentrated along the border. There is also an Internal Affairs Ministry brigade here. A brigade is being formed and the battalions are already engaged in combat teamwork training in the Defense Ministry. The defense minister has now set about this task. They all have the desire. We will give assistance, if need be. The thing is that they should be formed as quickly as possible and be capable of rebuffing any opponents.

[Krando] It must be added that the division has been made up by volunteers from Russia and Tajikistan. Together with the Russian border troops, the 201st Division will safeguard the security of the state border and also of the hydropower stations, chemical enterprises and depots.

Envoy Accuses Riga of 'Anti-Russian Move'

WS2704083493 Tallinn BNS in English 1113 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, Apr 26, BNS—The Russian negotiator with Latvia threatened to cancel the next round of bilateral talks if Latvia insists on passing a bill on temporary living permits for Russia's servicemen.

The bill, scheduled to be approved by the Latvian Supreme Council April 28, would provide a legal basis for the deportation of tens of thousands of ethnic Russians, charged Sergey Zotov, Russia's ambassador at large.

In a statement released Saturday [24 Apr], Zotov says Russia sees no point in holding the next round of the talks, scheduled for April 26-28, because the Latvian parliament would doom it to failure.

The bill would nullify much of the progress already made at the talks, he said, and ruin whatever has been done by the two delegations to provide social security guarantees for Russian servicemen leaving Latvia.

Zotov called the bill an "anti-Russian move." It comes at a time when Russia is taking enormous efforts to pull out from Latvia its armed forces, he said. In one year, Russia has managed to reduce its strength from 57,000 to 22,000 men.

Plane Carrying Weapons for Abkhazia Detained

PM2604121593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By N. Poboshchenko and Ye. Chukovskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Poboshchenko] While Defense Minister Pavel Grachev is making efforts to regulate Russian-Georgian relations and the withdrawal of the Russian forces from the Caucasus, including Abkhazia, military men under his jurisdiction are using army transport facilities to escalate hostilities in this trouble spot. At the Krechevitsy military airfield near Novgorod, military counterintelligence organs detained an Il-76, which was en route from Kaunas to Gudauta with stolen combat assault vehicles, machine-gun ammunition belts, and other army munitions. According to the official version, the military transport aircraft was carrying trucks to a unit stationed there. The preliminary investigation showed that all the APC's had been assembled at the repair plant using spares that were unaccounted for and had not been registered anywhere.

[Soldier] The people involved in organizing and carrying out this specific criminal operation have been arrested and an investigation is in progress.

Israeli Propaganda Working for Yeltsin Victory

PM2604133193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 3

[Israel Shamir report: "Who Took Down the Yakov Sverdlov Memorial?"]

[Text] Tel Aviv, 23 Apr—According to latest reports from the Israeli radio correspondent in Moscow, a total of 5 million Jews or more live within the borders of the former USSR. The Jewish Agency made a series of announcements offering correspondence courses in the Hebrew language, and it received hundreds of applications which caused them to arrive at the figure of 5 million, and this is a substantial population, which may influence both the outcome of the referendum and Russia's future.

Israel does not intend to neglect communications with Russian Jews: In the past few months, an invisible network of Israeli organizations' missions has been formed in all cities and villages of the former Land of the Soviets. From Ufa to Vologda and from Vilnius to Dushanbe, there is no oblast center without several representatives of Israeli youth organizations, trade unions, religious communities, the Jewish Agency, or consular groups. Not a single Western country, not even all NATO countries together, has such an extensive network of direct official missions in the former USSR as Israel. Only now is the special role which the United States once allocated to Israel in its struggle against the Soviet Union being fully realized.

Israeli press reports coming out of Russia are not much more (and they simply could not be less) objective than the Moscow television propaganda. These constantly overemphasize the "antisemitic nature" of Yeltsin's opponents. Even if just one half-wit carrying an antisemitic slogan goes to an anti-Yeltsin demonstration in Moscow, he will definitely be filmed and shown on Israeli television, and become the subject of a radio report. The Israeli mass media are depicting the essence of the referendum as a choice between the liberal democrat Yeltsin and the supporters of "Pamyat."

No one wants to recall that it was precisely B. Yeltsin, when he was first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, who became the first official in the Soviet nomenklatura to openly meet with representatives of "Pamyat" and to make warm comments about his interlocutors. No one wants to recall the Yeltsin supporters' rampage in 1991 either—when they tore to pieces the memorial to the Jew and Communist Sverdlov, chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, and tore down the memorial to the foreigner Dzerzhinskiy. It was Yeltsin's supporters, and not their communist opponents, who raised the banner of the bloody slander of "the destruction of orthodox Moscow by the Jew Kaganovich." I cannot recall who it was—Aliger or Erenburg—who wrote with pride in "Ottopeli," the first Jewish samizdat publication, that the word "Jew" always stands next to the word "Communist."

The communist movement throughout the world has always stood for friendship between peoples, and has been opposed to racism and national exclusivity, and, it would seem, the Jews of Israel and Russia should know this, but Israel's propaganda machine is now working for the victory of President Yeltsin, as usual putting the political interest of the Zionist movement above the genuine interests of Russian Jews.

Kurils: Japanese Not To Insist on Mention in G-7 Declaration

LD2604141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo April 26 TASS—The Japanese Government has decided not to insist on mentioning the "Northern Territories" problem in relations with Russia in the text of the political declaration of the forthcoming Tokyo summit of the seven leading industrialised countries (G-7) in July this year.

On the contrary, Tokyo intends to avoid a frontal way of putting this question at the summit to which Russian President Boris Yeltsin has been invited, and will concentrate on the provision of economic assistance to reforms which the Russian administration is carrying out, taking into consideration that this topic, as expected, will prevail during meetings of the G-7 heads of states, writes the Japanese economic newspaper "NIHON KEIZAI" today.

But at the same time the Japanese Government is making it clear that it is not taking the issue off the agenda of relations with Russia, and that at last year's G-7 Munich summit an accord was reached regarding the need to find a solution to the Northern Territory problem, that is why it is no use including it in the political declaration once again.

Kunadze Preparing Yeltsin's Possible 25-27 May Japan Visit

LD2704090493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0801 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo April 27 TASS—"Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze is currently conducting unofficial consultations in Tokyo on the agenda and date of President Yeltsin's visit to Japan," Japanese Foreign Minister Kabun Muto told a press conference here today, held after a regular meeting of the Japanese Government.

ITAR-TASS has learned from trustworthy sources that Kunadze came to Tokyo last Sunday. His contacts with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito and other Foreign Ministry officials, which were not announced, focus on questions linked with preparations for Yeltsin's visit to Japan, which may take place at the end of May. According to information received from Japanese sources, Tokyo has moved to hold it in the period from May 25 to May 27. However, ITAR-TASS has learned that no final decision on the date of Yeltsin's visit have still been fixed.

Kunadze is also discussing a possible agenda of the visit, including formulations linked with the Kuriles territorial issue between the two states. According to the information on hand, Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito, responsible for relations with Russia, is expected to pay a working visit to Moscow in the first ten days of May to thrash out all these problems.

ITAR-TASS has learned that both sides had earlier agreed not to make public Kunadze's unofficial visit to Tokyo, but news about it had nevertheless leaked into the press from Japanese sources.

Russia Urges Improvements in UN Peacekeeping Operations

LD2704093893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0919 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations April 27 TASS—Russia has urged the United Nations to enhance the effectiveness of U.N. peace-keeping operations. Its attitude to this problem is reflected in the U.N. secretary-general's report, released on Monday [26 April] in connection with the current session of the special committee on peace-keeping operations.

In Russia's opinion, the modernisation of U.N. peacekeeping operations could proceed in two principal ways: by enhancing the effectiveness of U.N. efforts and by promoting U.N. cooperation with regional organisations. The practical implementation of the principle of decentralised responsibility for peace-keeping operations already eases the burden on the United Nations, particularly in most acute situations.

Peace-keeping operations are not an end in themselves, the document notes. They are called upon to promote the settlement of problems between conflicting sides through negotiations, and not to be used instead of it. Russia finds it necessary to improve the existing system of communications and information in the United Nations, in particular to arrange round-the-clock communication links between the U.N. headquarters and field operation commands. Russia also stands for the maximum diversification of the sources from which to finance peace-keeping efforts (private funds, commercial and banking structures, contributions "in kind", i.e. in the form of expert advise, transport services, material and technical supplies), for the examination of possibilities to correct the existing scale of contributions to peace-keeping operations in order to make it fairer. The

document says that U.N. operations "are a unique instrument to safeguard international peace and security".

Concern Expressed That IMF Aid Could Be Wasted

PM2704083593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Berger report: "IMF Introduces New Type of Credit in Order To Give It to Russia"]

[Text] On 23 April the IMF's Council of Directors submits its official decision on allocating Russia specialized credit worth $3 billion to support systemic transformations or, put more simply, market reform of the economy. This is a substantial proportion of the aid package for the Russian reforms which IZVESTIYA has reported during recent days.

This is what Russia's IMF Director Konstantin Kagalovskiy told IZVESTIYA about this matter. "The credit at issue is a fundamentally new type of aid for the IMF. So-called reserve credit worth $4 billion is being granted in standard situations in tranches of $1 billion over set periods of time. This credit, by the way, was also allocated to Russia last year, but we have only received the first billion because up to now we have not signed a standard agreement with the IMF. It was not signed because it presupposes that the debtor country will fulfill a number of fairly tough terms which we are currently unable to fulfill. We hope that the conditions allowing us to sign this sort of agreement will come about as early as this October, and the agreement will be signed.

"But this will happen by the end of the year," Kagalovskiy continues, "and we will be able to receive the IMF's new credit for financing economic transformations almost immediately, moreover on the basis of fairly 'easy' terms for our side. The Fund has never granted this sort of credit to anybody before. The provision relating to this has only just been formulated, and Russia is the first recipient."

The draft provision regarding this credit states that the country may receive it as an amount equal to half its IMF quota. Russia's quota in the Fund is $6 billion. This sort of credit is granted in cases where a sharp decline in exports is occurring as a result of profound systemic transformations in the country or when import costs are increasing sharply owing to the switch from preferential to world prices. The second instance, Kagalovskiy believes, fully applies to the CIS states and to the former CEMA as well, so they too can fully expect to receive similar IMF assistance worth half their share in the Fund's capital. Incidentally, the total quota of the remaining states of the former USSR, including the Baltic countries, is about $1.5 billion.

To what the Russian IMF director has said it should be added that, having received credit on such favorable terms, we will successfully eat our way through it, spending it without trace on lipstick and panty hose, which have no impact whatsoever on systemic transformations. Let me stress that we are being given live money which is not bound by commitments to make certain purchases in certain countries. Nobody has given us credits of this kind for some time now. Moreover, the money is being lent over a 10-year term.

For information purposes: Last year Russia received $16.8 billion via various channels. Of this, $15.8 were in the form of bilateral tied credits—a different sort of aid which can be used but not spent as we see fit. Only $1 billion received from the IMF is money that we can dispose of freely.

Another danger lies in the fact that a real hunt is starting for departments and territories where this live money can be spent, and the money will be dished out at random and without trace for the purposes of pacifying striking sectors or politically unstable regions. This development of events cannot be ruled out, but it should be borne in mind that the credit is being issued in two equal tranches with an interval of six months. And if it becomes clear that the first 1.5 billion is not being used correctly, we will not get the second half of the credit—after all, this is big money, and the terms are favorable.

Referendum Issues

Voting Procedure 'Infringements' To Be Investigated

PM2704103093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary observers Andrey Sharapov and Aleksandr Linkov: "What Were We Fighting For?..."]

[Text] Sunday, 25 April. Parlimanet was living its usual working life: Preparations were under way to continue the work of the session, which opens this week. Everything was normal. Looking in at the press center, we learned that no special events were expected for Sunday. If there was any news, it would be in the building opposite, where the Central Commission for the Referendum is housed.

"We are receiving calls about the same thing again and again," Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Commission, explained when we met, "many people did not realize that there had to be either signatures or a seal on the ballot paper. Most people thought that it was mandatory to have both. But now we have provided explanations again on TV, and there has been a report on the radio. In some places, instead of a seal [pechat], the ballot paper was stamped with a simple rubber stamp [uproshchennym shtampom]. Naturally, that was bound to cause suspicion among the voters. There have been infringements of that kind. But all the cases brought to light will be investigated. It is quite possible, if the infringements are serious, that for particular precincts the results will have to be set aside and a new vote scheduled."

The Central Electoral Commission was formed by the Supreme Soviet for five years, and the referendum is its fourth Russia-wide campaign. The commission consists of 28 people, with a small apparatus of six.

It will only be possible to sum up the final results of the referendum when the protocols from the precinct commissions have been brought together by the district electoral commissions, and after that by the Central Electoral Commission. In previous election campaigns delays were mainly due to the difficulties of delivering materials by air from remote regions of Russia. Under the law, all ballot papers and protocols will be kept by the local soviets for two months...

On voting day, the Central Electoral Commission members' telephones were never silent. And the majority of "hitches" occurred, strangely enough, in Moscow. Many precinct electoral commissions were set up at new addresses and failed to inform people properly in time, so voters were wandering from the school, to the club, to the next school...

"The main conclusion for the future," Valentin Timonin, chief of the Central Electoral Commission secretariat, stressed, "is this: The law must be complied with strictly. Then there will be no annoying hitches in the electoral commissions' work."

As night approached, preliminary on-the-spot figures became known. On the basis of these figures it can confidently be said that the referendum was valid. The overall record for turnout was set by the Army—95 percent took part. A high level of activeness was noted in the republic of Gornyy Altay, Yakutia, Belgorod and Tambov Oblasts, and other regions. But the opposite phenomenon also occurred. By 2000 hours only just over 22 percent of people had presented themselves at the ballot boxes in Tatarstan.

As for the final figures, we will be informed of them on 5 May.

But however the final figures may turn out, the following results can be predicted now: Early elections of the two branches of power did not get the people's support. The president will most likely collect more than 50 percent of the votes of those who took part. The result: The country is in a stalemate. Worse, the referendum will further deepen the split in society, dividing people into two opposing camps. The split will continue, because, before the referendum propaganda machine has come to a halt, the president has launched a new campaign—on the new Constitution. The idea that is being put forward—the country cannot survive without a new Fundamental Law—will most likely hit people with its full force. A society which has not cooled down from the referendum will find the political heat turned up again. Economic problems will remain sidelined...

Further Reports on Regional Voting Results

LD2604204193

[Editorial Report] Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1440 GMT on 26 April continues its series of roundups of regional voting results.

Chelyabinsk provisional results—Turnout in the oblast was 60.7 percent. The "yes" vote, as a percentage of turnout, was 71.4 on question 1 and 65.5 on question 2. The "yes" vote, as a percentage of registered voters, was 25 on question 3 and 44 for question 4. A second round of voting to elect the head of the oblast administration was also held on Sunday. Petr Sumin came first with 48 percent of the vote. The oblast now has two governors. Nobody has told the previous incumbent, appointed by President Yeltsin, to resign.

Voronezh—Official results were released this evening. Turnout was 71.9 percent of 1,930,288 registered voters. The results on question 1, as a percentage of turnout, were 49.7 for, and 48.5 against. Corresponding results for question 2 were 45.1 for and 53 against. Some 40.2 percent of registered voters called for early presidential

elections. The results on question 4, as a percentage of registered voters, were 46.5 for and 24.2 against.

Orel provisional figures - Turnout in the oblast was 69 percent. The results on question 1, as a percentage of turnout, were 46.3 for and almost 52 against. The corresponding results on question 2 were 42.6 for and 55.3 against. The "yes" vote, as a percentage of registered voters, was 39.5 on question 3 and almost 41 on question 4.

Riga—The results of the referendum in Latvia, held in Riga, Liepaja, and Daugavpils have been summed up. Of 12,000 Russian citizens in the republic, 4,525 voted. However it is not known how many Russians have left the republic without informing the embassy, and no electoral roll was compiled in time. On the vote of confidence in the president, 21 percent voted "yes" and 78 percent "no"; on the president's policy, 19.5 percent "yes" and 80 percent "no"; on presidential elections, 79 percent "yes" and 19 percent "no"; and on deputies' elections, 40 percent "yes" and 59 percent "no." Some voting papers were pronounced spoiled. The votes of soldiers stationed in the Baltic states are still being counted. The results will be known later.

Tbilisi—In Georgia 87 Russian citizens voted in the referendum in the Russian Embassy. It was not possible to open polling stations in other Georgian towns where Russians live, an embassy official told TASS. "The absolute majority" voted for the president's policy, the diplomat reported. Thousands of Russian soldiers stationed in Georgia voted and by 1700 today the results of 19 of 27 polling stations had been counted. Preliminary results show a 65.4 percent vote of confidence in Yeltsin. The results for the other questions have not yet been finally determined.

Update on Results From Estonia

LD2604214993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1703 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] According to recent updates, altogether 8,456 voters, or 27.6 percent of eligible Russian Federation citizens residing in Estonia took part in the referendum.

	YES (percent)	NO (percent)
1. On confidence in the president	27.9	71.3
2. On support for the president's policies	not given	72.6
3. On early presidential elections	70.3	28.3
4. On early parliamentary elections	50.3	48.7

Voting Reports From Don Region, Ryazan

LD2604221793

[Editorial Report] Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1705 GMT on 26 April continues its series of roundups of regional voting results.

According to the report: "On the whole, the Don region voted confidence in the president. Over 55 percent of those who took part in the voting said 'yes' to the first question of the referendum, it was stated today at a press conference in the oblast soviet. It was stressed that the percentage of presidential supporters was the highest in Rostov, at 71.5 percent. However, in rural areas, small towns, and industrial towns, support for the president was lower than in major cities and in the oblast in general. The low activity of the electorate in mining towns, from 49 percent in Shakhty to 58.7 percent in Donetsk was rather surprising. At the press conference, Oblast Soviet Chairman Aleksandr Popov pointed out that it is important to learn the right lessons from the referendum. Neither side has the right to talk of victory or defeat. The referendum has not resolved the confrontation in the top echelons of power. It has highlighted one again the necessity to compromise in achieving specific results in creative work."

Ryazan—Although Ryazan itself voted confidence in the president, the oblast in general failed to reach the target by 0.2 percent of votes. Preliminary results in the Ryazan oblast: Over 808,000 voted, or 78.8 per cent of the electoral roll; 49.8 percent voted confidence in the president; 44.2 percent voted for early presidential elections; and 50.5 percent voted for early parliamentary elections. No major violations were registered.

Clinton Calls Yeltsin With Congratulations on Victory

LD2604210293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2058 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Matyash and Arkadiy Sidoruk]

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—U.S. President Bill Clinton called Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Monday and congratulated him on winning the Russian people's confidence vote, a White House official spokesman told ITAR-TASS.

Clinton said "this is a very good day" both for the Russian people and people all over the world. He described the referendum results as an outstanding victory. Clinton said this would help him get a congressional approval of the aid package for Russia to the tune of 1.8 billion dollars.

Kohl Stresses Support for Yeltsin, Democratic Reforms

LD2604174293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1657 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr—Today a short telephone conversation was held between Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the latter's initiative. This has been reported by the press service of the Russian Federation president.

Speaking about the preliminary assessment of the referendum, Helmut Kohl noted that the German Government intends to continue to maintain its course for support for the democratic transformations in Russia, which are being led by President Boris Yeltsin and implemented by the Russian Federation Government. Issues relating to bilateral relations between Russia and Germany were touched upon during the telephone conversation.

Yeltsin's Political Advisor Stankevich on Referendum

LD2704133193 London BBC Television Network in English 0715 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Interview with Yeltsin's Political Advisor, Sergey Stankevich, by Correspondent Nicholas Witchell on 27 April in Moscow; from the "Breakfast News"—recorded]

[Text] [Witchell] How important do you think President Yeltsin's referendum victory is?

[Stankevich] We have very important moral victory. The president confirmed his legitimacy, now he is the most legitimate public elected figure in the country and he has mandate for continuation and and even exhortation of his reforms.

[Witchell] He may be the most legitimate, but in terms of the congress he is still powerless, isn't he? What is he going to do about the Congress?

[Stankevich] No, he is not powerless; he is quite limited in his abilities and discretion, but he is not powerless, and he can act even in current situation. The problem is that we delayed our constitutional political reform. The president hoped that after the referendum he will have mandate for this constitutional reform, but unfortunately the results of voting is not so encouraging for the question number four.

[Witchell] Is he now going to act quickly?

[Stankevich] Yes, he is going to act quickly, but taking into account all the results of the referendum.

[Witchell] So what is he likely to do now?

[Stankevich] First of all he would like to push ahead his constitutional draft and to insist upon extraordinary parliamentary elections, hopefully this year.

[Witchell] Do you think this situation could lead to some form of conflict?

[Stankevich] I think yes, we shall have continuous conflict, but I hope that now president has position of strength in this country.

[Witchell] But I think you are talking about political conflict. Could political conflict become a more dangerous conflict in Russia?

[Stankevich] No, I see no possibilities for any form of civil conflict or wild conflict. We have enough possibilities to reconcile our controversies without such things as violence.

[Witchell] But nevertheless you keep coming back to this conundrum—if every form of persuasion with the Congress fails, if this country cannot move forward with this Congress, what does the president do?

[Stankevich] Well, it is hard question. I think that until our president exhausts all the means of political persuasion he should avoid any form of superconstitutional pressure.

[Witchell] The people have supported Mr. Yeltsin, they have also shown support for his economic reforms. How long though has the president got to persuade people that their trust was correct?

[Stankevich] I think that the president should use this new credit of trust immediately. We should show to the people some very well seen results of active industrialist policy during this year. Of course, it cannot immediately be converted into some profits, into some obvious material [word indistinct] for everybody, but if we can stop industrial decline, if we can assure that production is growing consumer sector of economy, it will be quite convincing for our public.

[Witchell] In conclusion, is this a good week for Russia?

[Stankevich] It's a quite promising week.

Kazakov Says No 'Early Elections'

LD2704124993 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer] A session of the Russian Supreme Soviet started today. Parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, reporting on the session, paid particular attention to the results of the referendum. He said that Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the central commission on the referendum, held a news conference, at which he spoke about the preliminary results of the referendum. Results are still awaited from Tuva, and from polling stations of Russian embassies and military troops abroad. Ruvinskiy quoted Kazakov. What he said is very interesting:

[Begin Kazakov recording] According to information received by telephone, 64.6 percent have taken part in the voting; this is the figure for today. This figure is more

precise: 64.58 percent—64.6 percent. So, we have a list of people who have the right to vote, a little bit more than 107 million.

Here we have a question: What is the difference between the electoral roll and the lists of people who have the right to vote? I will explain. When we were making lists of voters on 15 April, the number of citizens of certain categories amounting to approximately 105 million were included in these lists. Then, during 10 days remaining until the voting, a citizen who had the right to vote could visit a polling station and confirm his or her right. Thus, the lists increased because of those having the right to vote. Furthermore, on voting day, these citizens came to polling stations and confirmed their right to vote, and were included in the lists, plus, of course, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Army, which received the right to vote at the last moment. They had the right, of course, and steps were taken to make sure that they could exercise their right abroad, too.

So, at the present time we have 107 million people. According to these figures [words indistinct], 58.05—yes, 58.05 percent voted in favor of the first question; 52.88, I repeat, 52.88 percent spoke out for the second question. The third question was about the early re-election of the president: 32.64 percent voted in favor of this question.

These are the results of the voting of people who were included in the lists, or in this case, who had the right to vote: 41.4 percent spoke out for the early re-election of deputies. These are the figures.

I would like to finish my speech with these results. At the end I will say literally two words. The referendum is a great political event. It has been concluded, and mainly it was organized properly. There were no major incidents or complaints. We did not have someone who wanted very much to influence the referendum. In some polling stations in Leningrad and in Moscow there were some problems which we are dealing with, but they cannot influence the results. There have been no major complaints. There were complaints about propaganda on voting day. Somewhere in a voting booth somebody left a vacuum cleaner; somewhere, someone tried to persuade people how to vote. We took measures to restore order and we warned people against it, but as far as I know the Procuracy has not instituted any major proceedings.

[Ruvinskiy] So, Kazakov said—and I quote him—that the president and the deputies will have to work till the end of their terms. That is to say, that in accordance with the results of the referendum there is no question of holding early elections.

Gives More Details

LD2704140893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0922 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 Apr (TASS)—Most of the Russian citizens who took part in the referendum expressed confidence in the Russian Federation president. [passage omitted] In Kazakov's view, the official results, corroborated by the reports from the constituency commissions, will only differ by fractions of a percentage point. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the Central Electoral Commission stated that the commission has already received one official report from the Vladimir constituency, where Boris Yeltsin was prior to the referendum. The results of the vote are as follows: About 66 percent said "yes" to the first question, more than 58 percent said "yes" to the second question, over 34 percent said "yes" to the third question, and over 47 percent said "yes" to the fourth question.

The commission has received telegrams from 14 constituencies, which can also be considered as official figures. The president has received the greatest vote of confidence in the Yamalo-Nenets and Nenets constituencies, where the "Yes" vote on the first question was over 83 percent and around 66 percent, respectively, of those who voted. Over 60 percent of those who voted supported the president in the Tomsk, Tula, and Samara constituencies.

The third question—on early presidential elections—did not gain the votes of half the electorate in any of the 14 constituencies. The largest number of "Yes" votes was cast in the Chuvash, Tambov, Penza, and Agin Buryat constituencies. The fewest votes in favor of early presidential elections were in the Yamalo- Nenets, Nenets, and Tomsk constituencies (between 20 and 29 percent). The largest numbers of Russian citizens voting for early elections of people's deputies were in the Yamalo-Nenets, Nenets, Agin Buryat, Kaluga, Tambov, and Tula constituencies. In none of them did the figure "stretch" as far as half the registered electorate, however.

The central commission chairman said that official data on the results of the referendum would probably have been obtained from all constituencies by 30 April. He stated that "this great political campaign" had ended in an organized manner, without any major violations.

Shakhray Opposes 'Attempts to Ignore' Results

LD2704133793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] We are receiving reports on reactions to the preliminary results of the referendum. Russian Deputy Prime minister Sergey Shakhray, for instance, told a news conference today that he opposes attempts to belittle or ignore the results of the referendum. He stressed that its results have the highest legal force and do not need endorsement by any organ of state power. Shakhray said that in view of the results of the plebiscite the Supreme Soviet and other bodies of power should

revoke all decisions aimed at curtailing the reforms and adopt measures for their continuation, based on the president's proposals.

Kostikov Sees 'Major Victory for Democratic Forces'

PM2704092793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Interview with Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary to President Yeltsin, by Pavel Shinkarenko; place and date not given: "Attempt To Discredit Russians' Will Has Failed. This, According to Russian President's Press Secretary, Is One of Chief Conclusions Drawn by Boris Yeltsin from Referendum Results"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] According to a preliminary estimate, more than 60 percent of the electorate participated in the all-Russian referendum. At the same time an overwhelming majority of those who voted expressed confidence in the president. How did Boris Nikolayevich himself perceive these facts? The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editorial office put this question to Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary to the Russian Federation president.

[Kostikov] The president is satisfied that Russians participated in the referendum on a mass basis. This was despite the fact that they had been intimidated and various kinds of provocations had been organized. The entire machinery of the Supreme Soviet was set in motion for the purpose of discrediting the policy of reforms and democratic transformations in the country. But all efforts proved futile. "Thanks to the Russian population's patriotic understanding of the importance of the questions submitted for the people's verdict, the referendum took place," Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said. The attempt by the Supreme Soviet leadership to wreck the voting on the pretext that the population was tired of politics failed. "Nor will it be possible to discredit the people's will," the president believes.

The president is now studying the preliminary voting results as they come in from the regions. An assessment of the political results of the vote and the president's action plan stemming from this assessment will be made after Boris Nikolayevich has carried out the necessary analysis.

[Shinkarenko] But Ruslan Khasbulatov has already defined his position. At a session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium he unequivocally declared that "the referendum has revealed neither a winner nor a loser." According to him, the split in society has become still more noticeable....

[Kostikov] My view is different. The winner in the referendum was Russia, which is renewing itself. It is a major victory for the democratic forces—a victory opening up broad scope for transformations. The reformers have the moral right and the people's support on their side. Khasbulatov's interpretation is an attempt not only to belittle but also to distort the voting results. The unanimity expressed by the population attests that a sense of patriotic unity has formed and, we can assume, will strengthen in the Russian people around the aims of the reform and around the ideals which the president embodies. So 25 April has not split but cemented society around the president and his reforming course.

Khasbulatov's statement shows that a sense of panic has gripped the conservatives.

[Shinkarenko] Boris Nikolayevich said that 25 April would be followed by 26 April. Can we expect radical steps from the president within the next few days?

[Kostikov] April 26 is a hypothetical concept. It is a question of the postreferendum period. But in order to profit from the fruits of the vote on the basis of law and in compliance with all constitutional norms, we must wait for the final results.... Naturally Boris Nikolayevich will hold broad consultations with the democratic leaders, and he will then embark on amending the plans which he already had on the eve of the referendum and of which he has spoken repeatedly.

Khasbulatov 'Fairly Negative' on Results

MK2704090093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report under general headline: "Russia's Cautious People Say: Nothing Should Be Changed Yet. But Preliminary Referendum Results Are More Favorable for President Than Opposition Expected"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Yesterday the Supreme Soviet Presidium reviewed preliminary results of the referendum. Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Election Commission, said that about 62 percent of Russian citizens eligible to vote turned out for the referendum. Ruslan Khasbulatov gave a fairly negative assessment of its consequences. In his view, no one has achieved victory in the referendum, which at the same time has highlighted a divide in society and proved to be yet another step to weaken the state—hence, no one should delude himself with the results. However, those who expected such an outcome, according to the speaker, nonetheless can feel content. Evidently, Ruslan Khasbulatov now considers himself a sufficiently authoritative soothsayer, for he had made such forecasts long before 25 April. Of course, this point of view is not universally shared. For instance, Sergey Shakhray and Andrey Kozyrev have been quick to announce that the referendum demonstrated in a decisive way the corresponding popular will, paved the path for further reform, and so forth.

At the Presidium meeting Mr. Khasbulatov was also sharply critical of the activity of the electronic mass media, which unleashed "informational terror" during the pre-referendum campaign. He urged that draft laws designed to bring order to this sphere should be prepared faster. Since such documents have long been ready, they

can be expected to come under consideration as early as this week, particularly as the first joint session of the Supreme Soviet's chambers is to open today.

As for the 10th Congress of People's Deputies, apparently, it is not to be expected until the Supreme Soviet at least takes note of the ham-handed, anti-parliamentary actions on the part of the president. This was confirmed by Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, who answered a question about an emergency congress with a question of his own: "And what for?" [passage omitted]

MPs View Results

LD2604211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2057 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Mindful of the preliminary vote count, 59.8 per cent of all those who took part in the poll supported the president on the first referendum question on whether they trust the president and 54.5 per cent—on the second question concerning the socio-economic policy pursued by him.

The count showed that 28.4 per cent of all eligible voters favoured re-electing Boris Yeltsin and 44.6 per cent said "yes" to re-electing deputies of parliament.

Russian people's deputies who are members of the Parliamentary Coalition of Reforms—Sergey Yushenkov, Boris Zolotukhin, Lev Ponomarev, Sergey Kovalev and Mikhail Molostvov—acquainted journalists with these figures today.

All participants in a press conference shared the view that the preliminary count of votes is evidence of "the convincing victory by Boris Yeltsin and democratic forces in Russia." Yushenkov believes that the support of the Russian president and his economic course "should prod Boris Yeltsin towards more radical steps in transforming society."

"This should concern first and foremost the adoption of a new constitution and a new law on elections, which ultimately should bring about early elections, measures to pursue a tougher fiscal stabilisation, deepen privatisation and a score of other measures," Yushenkov noted.

Commenting on the preliminary results of the poll, people's deputies representing the democratic wing in parliament admitted that there are no necessary legal grounds for holding re-elections on the third and fourth issues. The moral aspect of this issue is another thing. "If most of the voters actually expressed no- confidence in their deputies, they have two ways out left: To pay heed to electors' view and support the Russian president or to step down," he stressed.

Participants in the press conference, referring in their speeches to the negative reaction to the referendum results of "the conservative majority of parliament", supposed that an extraordinary Tenth Congress of Russian People's Deputies may convene late in April-early in May.

Poltoranin: Yeltsin May Have To Bypass Parliament

LD2704121693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1152 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin will have to bypass parliament if it fails to provide the legislative basis for reforms supported at the referendum and may use his decrees and the Council of Federation for the purpose, according to an aide.

It is necessary "to make the deputies provide a legislative basis for the course of reforms supported by the people" at the referendum. If the parliament fails to do that "the president will be forced to independently look for a tool to boost reforms with the help of the Council of Federation and decrees of the executive authority", Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Centre, told TASS on Tuesday [27 April].

Poltoranin also said that a certain reshuffling of the government is planned "as there are people who occupy anti-reform stand". He did not elaborate.

Among urgent future steps he listed an anti-inflation programme, bankruptcy of inefficient enterprises and state farms, retraining of potential unemployed for work in the servicing sphere and in construction industry. The government will also solve the issue of allocating plots of land to all those wishing.

Although "the referendum consolidated the people around the president and his course", Poltoranin called on the democratic forces "not to relax, but strengthen the course of transformations".

The referendum showed that Russians had morally revived. "psycologically Russia has another people now than even in August 1991" when the people rose to defend yeltsin against the hard-line coup. Russians "have shaken out communist delirium from their heads and are now oriented towards a civilised life", Poltoranin said.

The vote, according to him, showed that Russians support the idea of a presidential republic advanced by Yeltsin in his constitution. "The people want a strong and powerful state without political bacchanalia", he said.

Poltoranin said it is high time for parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and others who want to continue "shaking" Russia to understand that the people have "politically emasculated" them at the referendum and made "political eunuch of them with all the corresponding consequencies".

Poltoranin blasted Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy and the centrist "Civic Union" bloc saying that the leaders who were denied confidence by the people should resign "if they have preserved elementary human decency". The referendum showed "a complete collapse of the destructive policy of legislators which was supported by the vice-president, a number of political parties and movements, like the "Civic Union", and by the open opposition".

"The Congress of People's Deputies should dissolve itself because by denouncing the reformist president the Congress showed its anti-popular essence", Poltoranin said, adding that Russians managed to unmask all politicians and see their genuine face much better than any analysts could have done.

St. Petersburg's Sobchak Comments on Outcome

LD2604175093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By correspondent D. Kokko including recorded statement by St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ballot boxes in St. Petersburg were opened at 2200 [1800 GMT] sharp yesterday and counting began straight away. By this morning, the city's electoral commission already had preliminary results. Turnout in St. Petersburg was over 62 percent of registered voters. Of these, about 70 percent expressed confidence in President Yeltsin and approximately the same number favored early elections of the corps of deputies in the Russian Federation. More precise figures are so far unavailable.

[Sobchak] I can say that at present I am moderately optimistic but still optimistic. I am certain that we will come out of this situation without a bitter struggle against the background of endless lies, falsehoods, and allegations that have unfortunately become a norm of life on our political scene today. I would like everyone, regardless of their political views and personal preferences, to realize one thing: today we must serve Russia. We must all act together. Afterwards we can sort out our political preferences.

Russian Ambassador to Georgia Comments

LD2604221493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian referendum was also held on the territory of Georgia, taking part in which were servicemen and members of their families holding Russian citizenship, those on duty trips from Russia, and staff of the Russian Embassy in Georgia. On Sunday our correspondent visited constituency no. 237, which is at the embassy, and at the end of the poll—taking part in which, by the way, were 87 Russian citizens, of whom 15 are members of the embassy—he invited to the microphone Vladimir Zemskiy, Russian ambassador to Georgia.

[Begin Zemskiy recording] I believe that a victory for President Yeltsin and a continuation of the reforms in Russia is in accordance with the national interests of Georgia as a neighboring state, in the first place. It is in accordance with the highest interests of Russian-Georgian relations. It will help remove many of the obstacles, difficulties, complications, and tensions in our bilateral relations, which are linked with the undivided sway which is currently, for the time being, held by the Congress of People's Deputies, whose decisions have on many issues been harsh towards Georgia and out of line with international legal standards of good- neighborliness, for we are neighbors and always will be, we cannot get away from one another, we are condemned to be together. So, the democratic reforms, a victory in the referendum for continuing these democratic reforms in Russia, meet the highest interests of Russian- Georgian relations. This victory will help to strengthen democracy and the legal maintenance of Georgia's statehood, and also Georgia's development along the road of democracy and civilization, just as in Russia. That is my opinion. [end recording]

Officials Say Referendum Will Not Affect Kuzbass

LD2704102593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 27 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The preliminary results of the referendum, 60 percent of the votes in support of the president, are switching the activities of political forces from the sphere of campaigning to the sphere of interpretation. The Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Chairman Aman Tuleyev and the Kuzbass head of administration Mikhail Kislyuk declared today that the referendum results will have no substantial effect on the situation in Kuzbass, where agreement has been reached between the representative and executive branches of power on many issues. They have issued a joint address to the people's deputies and staff of the regional administration.

Communist Workers' Party Says Referendum Work of 'Bandits'

LD2704134093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Apr 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr (TASS)—Certain parties of communist orientation have issued statements about the course and interpretation of the results of the referendum on 25 April.

A statement questioning the president's victory was made public on Monday [26 April] by "the revived

CPSU," headed by Sergey Skvortsov. In the view of this party, one can hardly talk of a victory for Boris Yeltsin when in fact only a third of the citizens of the Russian Federation came out in his favor.

A statement has been circulated today by the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Workers' Party [RCWP], which states that the preparations for the referendum and the ballot itself "did not proceed in accordance with the laws of a law-governed democratic state, but according to the scenario of legitimized bandits." The RCWP expressed the belief that the disregard for elementary human rights was most manifestly obvious in the use of television, radio, and the press. Russian television and the "Ostankino" Television and Radio Company denied not only the opposition but even Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy the right to voice their points of view.

The RCWP cites a number of what they claim to be breaches of the Law on Referendums recorded by their representatives.

Yet, the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCWP "states with satisfaction that two thirds of the voters directly or latently (by not going to the polls) declined to show confidence in Yeltsin and his political policy."

Analyst Views Yeltsin's Referendum 'Victory'

LD2704124093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1112 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The final results of the April 25 all-Russia referendum will become known somewhat later, but its main tendencies are already clear. The preliminary figures, received from 88 constituencies of the Russian Federation, were published here today.

Firstly, contrary to rather numerous forecasts, the referendum proved valid, because 64.6 per cent of the registered voters had come to the election stations. The referendum did not take place only in the Chechen Republic, where it was not held altogether, and in Tatarstan, where only 21 per cent of the voters took part in it, which is largely explained by separatist sentiments in the republic.

Secondly, 58.5 per cent of the voters have expressed confidence in the president and 53 per cent of them have supported his socio- economic policy.

Thirdly, neither the third nor the fourth questions, pertaining to preterm presidential and parliamentary elections, have polled the required majority of elligible voters. Only 32.6 per cent of the electors have voted for preterm presidential elections, and as many as 44 per cent—for preterm parliamentary elections. This means that the electorate has expressed confidence both in the president and the people's deputies.

It is worth recalling that the approval of the first two questions required the votes of only 50 per cent of the voters, actually taking part in the referendum, and not of all the citizens entered in the election lists, as initially decided by the 9th Congress of Peoples' Deputies. It is clear today that, in accordance with the referendum law, the president has received the people's vote of confidence in himself and in his course. He will, undoubtedly, try to make effective use of this. In the meantime, his political opponents are interpreting the results of the referendum in their own way. For example, parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov actually admitted on Monday the Supreme Soviet's defeat by saying that the parliament "was short of three days to alter the situation in its favour at the referendum". However, he said the referendum had "not brought out any winner or loser".

The final results of the referendum will, of course, alter the situation a little, but no substantial changes can be expected. Thus, Boris Yeltsin can claim his victory. What will this give the Russian president? This victory does not provide grounds for the dissolution of representative organs of power. It will not bring the legislative authorities to "submission". A struggle will begin over the political and juridical interpretation of the referendum. The confrontation between the authorities will continue.

It is obvious that a regular Congress of People's Deputies will be called next month. Representatives of the opposition have already called for its convocation. It is difficult to predict its behaviour. Most political parties had but recently regarded the preterm election of both branches of government as something quite unavoidable, but now the situation has changed substantially. The people have voted against preterm presidential and parliamentary elections (although in different proportions). ITAR-TASS was told by deputy chief of the State Legal Department Anatoliy Sliva that, according to the referendum law, the decisions of a referendum may be altered or cancelled only by a new referendum, which, of course, is unrealistic. However, formally the Congress can raise the question of preterm elections again, but it will have to make corresponding amendments in the Constitution. At present, the Congress is bound by referendum decisions, but, in principle, Yeltsin is not guaranteed against some unexpected steps on its part," Sliva stated.

Chairman of the Civic Union's Executive Committee Vasiliy Lipitskiy told ITAR-TASS that "there will be serious obstacles to preterm elections". Lipitskiy, just as his colleagues in the Civic Union, believes that elections are an optimal way out of the predicament, "but now we shall apparently be compelled to alter our tactics: the referendum has 'frozen' the most acute problems without indicating any ways out of the critical situation."

In present-day conditions, much will depend primarily on the president's stand, who said on the eve of the referendum that he would take several steps "within the constitutional frameworks". The main struggle will most likely focus on the draft of the new constitution, already published by the president.

PRAVDA Commentary on Results

PM2704091193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

["Our Commentary" by Aleksandr Bykovskiy and Viktor Trushkov under the general heading "The President Was Humored. The Referendum Was Held. Only One-Third of Russians Prepared To Move Toward 'Savage' Capitalism"]

[Text] The victory on which the president was banking failed to materialize. The confrontation ended in a draw. Not an ordinary draw, but a... stalemate, with the sides having driven each other into a position inevitably leading to a deterioration of their situation. And an even worse deterioration of Russia's situation.

Two years ago, when Russia was electing its president, almost three-fourths of voters took part in the election. According to preliminary dat., approximately 62 percent of registered voters did so last Sunday. This means that 13.5 million fewer Russians went to the polling booths than in 1991. They voted "with their feet" against the present authorities, having no faith that the authorities are capable of considering the people's opinion.

Two years ago B. Yeltsin was backed by 42.8 percent of Russia's voters. According to preliminary data, this indicator has now dropped by at at least 10 percent. This means that "the man elected by the whole people" now relies on one-third of the Russian Federation's citizens at most.

The pre-referendum campaign proceeded in conditions of unprecedented ideological pressure. Thus, on the eve of voting, the Free Russia People's Party [FRPP] filed a protest against the infringement of its "legitimate rights to propagandize its positions." The FRPP Press Service notes that neither of the federal television companies responded to the party's request for air time to present its positions before the referendum, while the "Moskva" Television and Radio Broadcasting Company offered it air time on commercial terms. The FRPP paid for air time during the 23 April evening program. But when it emerged that the party's position would be presented by Russian Federation Vice President A. Rutskoy, the party's honorary chairman, the company changed its mind, making reference to instructions from Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov and Moscow Oblast Administration Head A. Tyazhlov. The country's vice president was denied an opportunity to address his fellow-citizens and the public was "denied its constitutional right to receive information of interest to it concerning instances of gross abuses at the top echelons of power."

And yet President B. Yeltsin was given the floor to address Russians even while Russia's easternmost regions had already started voting. But let us not concentrate on the president alone—the entire television propaganda campaign was reminiscent of a one-way street. It was no accident that Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov noted that "the exceptionally negative role played by electronic mass media has now become apparent." Incidentally, the Russian channel's "Parliament" radio program—which could have been expected to objectively assess the course of referendum and its initial results—was cancelled yesterday.

The ideological pressure by pseudodemocrats resulted in a multitude of violations during the voting process. Relevant reports are arriving from all over the country. Here is just one incident among many that occurred in the capital. According to Rayon Electoral Commission Chairman Andrey Morozov, Khoroshevskiy Rayon received protocols on voting results from only 94 of its 124 electoral precincts. Serious rigging is possible at three or four precincts, while things have gone far from smoothly at the remaining precincts. "What do you intend doing?", we asked Andrey Vasilyevich. He replied: "We will unseal the bags with the ballot papers, count them again, and check them against the number of those who voted." The commission found it impossible to compile a protocol on voting results in Khoroshevskiy Rayon, let alone sign it, even though Morozov was subjected to pressure—"mild" pressure, if truth be told—by the chairman of Khoroshevskiy Rayon Soviet and the chairman of Moscow City Electoral Commission. They demanded that preliminary voting results be filed for at least the 94 precincts, which would have been at odds with the Law on the Referendum.

One voter—Doctor of Medical Sciences Petr Sergeyev—described his observations over the telephone and claimed that "the referendum is unrepresentative" in the prevailing atmosphere.

But even in this atmosphere (R. Khasbulatov harshly described it as "Poltoranin-Goebbels lies"), the president's supporters failed to achieve victory. Whereas just over one-half of those who went to the polling booths said "yes" to the first question—on confidence in B. Yeltsin, according to the selfsame preliminary data the president failed to win even one-half of the votes as regards the socioeconomic policy pursued by him. Thus, how can it be claimed that Russia supports B. Yeltsin (even under the highly dubious rules of vote counting—based not on the total number of voters but only on those who actually voted)?!

The president failed to win support on the first question even by one-half of those who actually voted in Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, Ingushetia, Mari El, Kabardino-Balkaria, Altay Kray, and Amur, Belgorod, Kursk, Penza, Lipetsk, Samara, Tambov, and a series of other oblasts.... The referendum was declared void in Tatarstan. And yet all these are parties to the Federation Treaty.

The failure of the president's supporters is even more obvious when we look at the replies to the question about attitudes toward early elections of people's deputies. Perceiving the threat of presidential dictatorship, Russians did not give B. Yeltsin and his team a mandate to disband the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet. According to preliminary data, the idea of early elections was backed by less than one-half of those who went to the polling booths, let alone the total number of registered voters.

Indeed, the referendum result is a stalemate. It is no accident that R. Khasbulatov called on supporters of both sides not to get carried away by the referendum results, since they produced neither victors nor vanquished. Russians today must be more vigilant than ever before to avoid losing the present crumbs of democracy and to prevent a "democratic dictatorship."

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Commentary

PM2704091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1-2

["Commentary" by political analyst Boris Pugachev: "A Tie. As Conjectured"]

[Text] The first conclusion to be drawn from the preliminary results of the referendum is connected with the decline in the interest shown by the population in matters of power. Whereas about 75 percent of registered voters took part in the 1991 Russian presidential elections, now almost one-fifth of Russia's citizens who were politically active in 1991 are indifferent to matters of power, including the fate of the president. Clearly, this frame of mind reflects the decline of the authority of all branches of power in Russia. The high percentage of citizens favoring early elections of people's deputies and the smaller but significant total of those voting for early presidential elections bear witness to this.

Whereas 45.5 million people voted for Boris Yeltsin in 1991, today, according to preliminary data, he has lost more than 10 percent of the votes that were previously cast for him. In both 1991 and today Yeltsin did not receive the support of the majority of Russian citizens. In other words, Russia still does not have a generally acknowledged political leader who enjoys the support of the majority of Russian citizens as expressed in a form established by the law. (Approximately one-third of Russia's citizens expressed their confidence in Yeltsin by voting for him.)

The second conclusion we may draw is that the results of the referendum do not spawn any additional constitutionally enforced commitments for any of the branches of power, nor do they grant any new legislative rights. The referendum does not entail early elections either for the president or for people's deputies. In other words, as a law-forming procedure the citizens' expression of will has yielded no results, i.e. it has finished in a "tie," which is basically what we predicted.

The third conclusion is that the mandate obtained by the president at the referendum allows him to carry on operating actively within the framework of his constitutionally outlined powers. He may act "decisively" or "indecisively," but in all cases within the law as it currently stands. The referendum has added no additional legally significant rights to the president's power.

Therefore expected attempts to "dissolve" the legislative organs or to act regardless of their will can mean only one thing: A return to the logic of "20 March," that is to say to anticonstitutional actions. Let us hope that the president is perfectly well aware of this.

A general conclusion. The referendum has extricated neither society nor the authorities from the crisis situation in which we find ourselves. As before, there is only one way out: Changing the government's socioeconomic course, pegging reforms to the needs of the people and the interests of the main sections of society, and strengthening all systems of democratic power in Russia. This alone can ensure the preservation of the shoots of freedom. The authorities should not get involved in "confrontation," they should learn to work together. This is the basic result and meaning of the referendum that has just taken place.

Deputy Elections 'Must Be Held This Year'

PM2704124393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Otto Latsis: "Referendum Results Compel President To Act Swiftly and Decisively"]

[Text] All we have at the moment is the preliminary results of the nationwide vote. In certain significant details they differ from the political scientists' forecasts before the event. But the overall outcome is precisely as expected. In the first place, the referendum was held. In the second place, it confirmed that the majority of voters supports the Russian Federation president's course of reforms. Third, the greatest difference between the sides was seen in the vote on the fourth question—on the future of the current people's deputies.

The third conclusion is in many ways of primary significance. It confirmed the undoubted reality which the opposition that captured the majority at the congress of people's deputies has for so long been trying to deny. It confirmed that this deputies' majority now has only a very limited legitimacy: There is no majority of voters behind it. That is why the opposition has been so blatant, indecently so, in its fear of addressing its voters directly: Although it attempts to deceive others, it did not deceive itself, and it could clearly see the inevitable outcome of the vote on the fourth question.

Of course, efforts will now be made to exploit the deliberately vague wording of the fourth question: no date for early elections, no definition of the organ of power to be reelected. But the people's thinking has a logic to it. The demand for an early election is equivalent

to an expression of no confidence. The congress itself is well aware of this and it thought up the third question in the hope of offsetting a positive reply to the first question. But if the majority of voters expresses a desire for early elections of deputies, why then should the country wait for an indefinite period? Keeping a parliament going for a long time when its legitimacy has been "tarnished" and when it has been weakened by the voters' lack of confidence would undermine the very foundations of parliamentarism, undermine respect in the very institution of representative authority.

Contemptuous of the unclear wording of the fourth question, the voters delivered an absolutely clear reply. The political conclusion to be drawn from it is beyond doubt: Early elections of deputies must be held this year, and they must be elections to a two-chamber parliament. Consequently, a new Russian Constitution is needed and a new law on elections is needed too. If the congress continues to obstruct the adoption of a new Constitution, by prolonging the existence of its unique creation with 300 amendments, it will be completely ignoring the people's will. The question of adopting a Constitution in circumvention of the congress will then arise.

One result that catches the eye is the positive result of the vote on the second question, which took many by surprise. The actual formulation of the question was intended for a stupid electorate that was exasperated by the hardship of life in a period of reforms and could not get to grips with the workings of the economic mechanism. Again the electorate demonstrated—and not for the first time—that it was smarter than some politicians suppose. It also gave its opinion on the opposition's hysterical claims about the "failure" of the reforms and about its being impossible to exist in the new economic reality.

But it would be sad—dangerous, in fact, for the future of the reforms—if their supporters were to become euphoric over the support for the president on the first three questions. It is well-known that many voters were not so much saying "yes" to the president and the government as saying "no" to the opponents of Russia's renewal. The reformers' practical activities bear too obvious an imprint of ambivalence, due to the congress majority's frantic resistance. This is not so much a criticism as a statement of fact: It would be strange if any government were able to operate normally in the kind of atmosphere created by the series of congresses—beginning with the sixth and, in particular, since the seventh. But the president and government now have the referendum results to support them—politically, if not in formal legal terms. And continuing indecision in the new conditions would be inexcusable.

What next? The adoption of the new Constitution certainly will be a powerful factor of political stabilization, but until it is adopted it is highly likely that confrontation will actually increase in some areas. According to the draft proposed by the president, the new Constitution will mark the end of the existence of clamorous congresses, and it will be replaced by a normal, two-chamber parliament. According to the same draft, the new Constitution will mark the end of the existence of the posts of vice president and chairman of the parliament. And more significantly: The new Constitution will enshrine the changes in the forms of ownership and power that have taken place in Russia. It will rule out any kind of absolute power, whether individual or collective.

In the very last days and hours before the referendum calls for the "consolidation" of society—the intentions of which were absolutely transparent—began to ring out loudly again. For instance, R. Khasbulatov reiterated the thesis about a "government of people's accord under parliamentary control." Today, given the results of the referendum, this formula could be extended as follows: "government of people's accord under the control of a parliament with which the people are not in accord." It is obvious what these appeals are worth—and the same goes for the calls for the creation of a coalition between entirely real political forces supporting the president and political figures representing no one.

On the other hand, it has become fashionable to call for slower market reforms—allegedly for the sake of public accord again. You can just about see some kind of logic in the abstract reasoning: We are finding it difficult to move quickly, so let us move more slowly and it will be easier. But in concrete terms, what exactly should we slow down to make things better? The fight against inflation? Slowing that down would hardly make life easier for anyone except the speculators who feed on it. The fight against monopolies that keep on cranking up prices? The granting of land and other property to Russians? The normalization of foreign economic activity? The switch from the abstract to the concrete shows that it is the slowing down of the reforms, which, unfortunately, happened around one year ago, that increases the economic problems and the social tension. The quicker the reforms, the easier it becomes for all of us. The great significance of the referendum consists in the fact that it created the political prerequisites for the acceleration of the reforms.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Comment on Results

PM2704142793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova article: "Revenge of Soviets Not Over, but Russian People with President"]

[Text] First and foremost today we know that the all-Russian referendum has taken place. In spite of all the predictions of its failure and of everything else, including persistent attempts to represent the referendum as a destabilizing factor, it has taken place and now nobody has the right to say that the Russian people, overwhelmed by the difficulties of everyday life, are indifferent to what is taking place in the country and have

absolutely no interest in the conflict between the supporters of the reforms and their opponents. Whatever the final officially confirmed figure for the number of people who participated in the referendum, it will now not fall below 60 percent. Almost two-thirds of Russians did not wish to allow either the people's representatives or the presidential side to speak for them; they preferred to express their attitude to the reforms and government directly. It is probably necessary to consider this result to be the most important outcome of the voting: Democracy has taken yet another decisive step forward.

The second and equally important outcome is that the referendum did not split Russia apart. It was only in Chechnya and Tatarstan that voting did not take place, but this was predicted with a fair degree of accuracy. In several of the Russian Federation's republics—Bashkortostan, Yakutia, Karelia—the number of votes cast was even higher than the average for the country as a whole.

The third outcome is that the opposition's predictions and undisguised hopes that the president would be defeated and there would be a "no" vote to his the social and economic policy turned out to be unfounded. A majority of 58 percent of the politically active Russian population expressed their confidence in Boris Yeltsin and 52.7 percent supported his reforms policy. These are preliminary results and more precise figures will be given later, but it can already be said today that the majority of socially mobile, active Russian citizens do not want a return to the past and, even if they disagree with the president on all points, they are even less in agreement with his opponents who have orchestrated universal mourning for the people and country and intend to "save" Russia from radical reforms. The actual political maturity of the Russian population proved greater than received wisdom had held it to be.

Based on the preliminary results, the referendum did not produce a constitutional majority on either the third or fourth questions. About one-third of Russians declared themselves in favor of early elections to the presidency, and just short of 43 percent for new elections to the corps of deputies. In this way these questions remained unresolved. It is very important to get away from subjectivity when interpreting these questions. I think that it is not only a question of the vote counting system, although in a section of Russia's regions a majority voted for new elections for people's deputies. It maybe that, by saying "no" to early elections, the voters were declaring themselves in favor of a more active questh for a compromise between the two branches of power and for political stability. It is another question as to whether the supreme authority can guarantee this stability, if the soviets' attempts to establish their supremacy over the executive branch of power, the law, and the Constitution continue. It is most likely that other more decisive methods will have to used to resolve the crisis. Whether these will still be early elections and how the constitutional process will fare in the future, depends on the wisdom, responsibility, and political perspicacity of the people now standing at the helm of the Russian state.

Vote Shows Yeltsin Has Not Lost People's Support

PM2704093193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Vladimir Urban and Vladimir Yermolin report: "People Expressed Their Position in Referendum. Now It Is Up to Politicians"]

[Excerpts] So, the all-Russian referendum—the need for which was spoken of by all political forces—is over. At present, we believe, its chief result is the fact that it took place. Russia's population has accurately assessed the significance of this event. [passage omitted]

It is now possible to speak of another result of the referendum: According to preliminary data, the majority of those who participated in the vote confirmed their confidence in the president. Of course, the results differ in different regions, but in any case it will be difficult now for the president's opponents to claim that Boris Yeltsin has totally lost the people's support. [passage omitted]

And yet, what did the citizens of the Russian Federation say? Here are some preliminary data, sent in to the editorial office by our correspondents.

Maritime Kray—Some 67 percent of the electorate participated in the vote. In Vladivostok's four electoral districts 53 percent of the citizens who came to the elections supported the president. [passage omitted]

Chita Oblast—Almost 65 percent of the electorate came to vote. Of these just 43 percent said "yes" to the first question, while 53.4 percent said "no." [passage omitted]

As is known, it proved hardest of all to organize voting in our units abroad, as this problem was finally resolved only on 23 April. This is what Sergey Pashayev, our correspondent in the Western Group of Forces, reported: "According to preliminary data, 98.8 percent of Russians participated in the referendum in the Western Group of Forces. A significant majority of those who voted replied 'yes' to the first two questions. As is known, the work on organizing the poll was carried out within a very limited time. Nevertheless, by the morning of 25 April everything was ready for the voting in all 133 polling places. No conflict situations or glitches were noted."

Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Popov, retired, member of the Central Electoral Commission, told our correspondent that, according to preliminary data, 95 percent of Armed Forces personnel participated in the referendum. The anxiety connected with uncertainty as to whether or not there would be time to prepare organizationally for the referendum among the troops stationed abroad

proved groundless. All the documentation was delivered outside the Russian Federation on schedule. So far there have been no complaints of violation of servicemen's rights.

One serviceman in every three voted in open polling places. Yevgeniy Vasilyevich pointed out that this first experience of voting in open places alongside the civilian population can be considered successful. In the long term this will make it possible to eliminate many questions connected with the adoption of new legislation, i.e. to extend the boundaries of the serviceman's legal protection in this sphere too.

In short, the first results have been summed up. They essentially give the answer that the referendum has not provided a constitutional basis for early reelections either of the president or of the body of deputies. What can this mean for us Russian citizens? An ongoing stalemate in the standoff between the powers? A new spiral of confrontation? That is, it is possible to speak of the political results of the plebiscite and, if you wish, the moral results, but there is still no clear legal basis for resolving the problem of the dyarchy which has taken shape in the country. It seems that we will all now have to live through a war of interpretation of the referendum results. Interpreters on both sides have, in principle, gotten good material for a substantive polemic. We, for our part, would like to voice the hope that the referendum results will be interpreted, above all, as the last credit—a credit not even of confidence but of the people's patience in respect of the state institutions of power and their leaders.

The final referendum results are still being counted.

Political Issues

New Yeltsin Draft Constitution Summarized

WA2704151793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed article: "Basic Principles of the New Constitution of Russia"]

[Text] **The Constitution of Russia is a Constitution of Human Rights and Freedoms**

Mindful of the immutable value and uniqueness of every human life and founded on the best historical traditions of Russian statehood and the achievements of world civilization, the Constitution of the Russian Federation guarantees man's high dignity, rights, and freedoms, protected by the law and by independent courts.

The priorities are that the norms enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the generally recognized principles of international law should cease to be mere words in Russia. That law and order and civil peace should be the basic concern of the state and the main business of its law enforcement organs and of specific officials who are responsible for them by virtue of their official position and duties.

Every citizen of Russia should be without fears for his life, for the inviolability of his property and home, or for peace, tranquillity, and the future of his children, relatives, and loved ones. The constitutional formula "Everyone has the right to life, personal inviolability, freedom, and security" should become operative. Emphasizing the immutability of human rights and freedoms in Russia, the draft Constitution says: "Laws that revoke or diminish human rights and freedoms should not be promulgated in the Russian Federation."

The Constitution of Russia Is the Constitution of a Fully Federal State

The Fundamental Law ensures in full the constitutional rights of components of the Russian Federation. The Constitution guarantees every nation and ethnic group the free realization of their national sovereignty, unique ethnic and cultural nature, and development in accordance with their historical traditions. The state guarantees all peoples of the Russian Federation the right to preserve their native language and to create the conditions for its study and development.

The Constitution guarantees components of the Federation a worthy place within the federal state and full representation in federal government and in the resolution of questions affecting the whole of Russia. Each member of the Federation elects its deputies to one of the chambers of parliament—the Soviet of the Federation. Under the Constitution, the system of state power is established in the Federation's components on the basis of provisions on people's power, the republican form of rule, the separation of powers, and other provisions on the democratic rule-of-law secular state.

And, last and most important—the Federation Treaty is a component part of the Russian Constitution.

The Constitution of Russia Is the Constitution of a Presidential Democratic Republic

In the draft Constitution the head of state is deemed to be the president of the Russian Federation, elected by the whole people. He is the main guarantor of the indivisibility and integrity of the state, the unity of state power of the Russian Federation, and the implementation of the constitutional rights of man and citizen.

At the same time the Constitution strictly delimits the bounds of presidential powers and stipulates guarantees to ensure that they are exercised within the framework of the Constitution and law. In the event of the president's being accused of state treason or a deliberate violation of the Constitution that undermines the state system or infringes on human rights and freedoms, he may be removed from office in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Constitution.

The president is the guarantor of the effectiveness of power. He is responsible for the efficient and harmonious work of the executive system and for discipline and order in the state apparatus in his charge.

Executive power in the Russian Federation is exercised by the government of the Russian Federation, which consists of the chairman of the government and the federal ministers.

The Constitution of Russia Is the Constitution of a Strong Legislative Power

The existence of presidential power in no way negates, but, on the contrary, ensures the implementation of consistent parliamentarianism and the principle of separation of powers. The Constitution guarantees the high status of representative organs—the two-chamber Federal Assembly (parliament) and municipal organs. Representatives of the Federation components are elected to one chamber of parliament, the Soviet of the Federation, while deputies are elected to the other—the State Duma—from territorial districts on the basis of uniform norms of representation. Legislative activity is the exclusive right of the Federal Assembly.

The Constitution of Russia Is the Constitution of an Independent and Fully Empowered Judiciary

Mindful of the immutable force of law, the Constitution safeguards the independence of the courts—the constitutional, general civil, and arbitration courts. It guarantees all the necessary conditions and opportunities for their implementation of a justice which is real, effective, and accessible to every citizen. The judicial system of the Russian Federation stands in defense of human rights and freedoms and guarantees the individual against tyranny by the state, officials, or political or other organizations.

The Constitution of Russia Is the Basis for Local Self-Government

The implementation of a coordinated federal policy is supplemented and reinforced by the principle of guaranteeing free regional development: Local self-government is the exclusive right of municipal organs. Municipal self-government operates outside the bounds of state power and autonomously from it. This offers the opportunity for normal social and economic development for all parts and regions of Russia, which differ greatly from one another in terms of their economic, geographical, and historical conditions.

The Constitution of Russia Is the Constitution of Civil Patriotism

All of us are from birth patriots of our Motherland. What the Constitution means by patriotism is not only the need to protect Russia's economic and foreign policy interests and not only the need to defend it in the event of a threat of external aggression, but also the preservation of peace and stability within the Russian Federation itself. A patriot is he who guards the interests of every Russian citizen, regardless of his social or national origin or religious and political convictions. The draft Constitution therefore states that "Everyone born or permanently domiciled in Russia is entitled to Russian citizenship."

The Constitution submitted by the president is a stable Constitution, precluding the possibility of its being arbitrarily changed. Mechanisms ensuring the resolution of constitutional conflicts are formulated within it.

The new Constitution of the Russian Federation is our future, it is our choice, it is our common civil and political destiny.

Comparison of Constitution Articles

PM2304173493

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 24 April 1993 carries in its First Edition on page 5 the "Basic Principles of the New Constitution of Russia." The IZVESTIYA item has been compared with the Moscow ITAR-TASS English version published in the 23 April Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, pages 17-20, revealing the following variations:

Page 18, column one, Article 39, first sentence reads: ...his citizenship nor of the right to change it. A citizen of... (rewording);

Column two, paragraph six, sole sentence reads: ...Constitutional Court of the Federation, the Supreme Court of the Federation, and the Supreme Arbitration Tribunal of... (supplying additional elements);

Column two, paragraph seven, sole sentence reads: ...of the administration;

[new paragraph] Appoints and relieves the Russian Federation president's plenipotentiary representatives in the regions;

Appoints and relieves... (adding paragraph);

Column two, Article 74, fourth paragraph, sole sentence reads: ...nation-wide referendum; submits on his own initiative... (adding "on").

New Draft of Yeltsin Constitution Viewed

LD2304134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1327 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—The draft of a new Russian constitution proposed by President Boris Yeltsin contains seven basic provisions aimed at ensuring human rights, the separation of powers, a presidential republic, a two-chamber parliament and abolishing the Congress of People's Deputies.

The new fundamental law is a constitution of human rights and freedoms which has accumulated the experience of the best Russian traditions and the achievements

of the world civilisation, according to extracts from the document received by TASS on Friday [23 April].

This is the basic law of a fully-fledged federative state in which each nation and ethnic group is guaranteed free development of its sovereignty, culture, language and historic traditions. Russian republics will be fully represented in the federal bodies, each member of the federation will elect a representative to the Council of the Federation - a chamber of the parliament. The federative treaty becomes part of the Constitution.

The new Constitution establishes a presidential democratic republic in which the freely elected president becomes the head of state and the guarantor of Russia's integrity. The powers of the president are fixed in the constitution and in case of treason or violation of the fudamental law he can be impeached in accordance with a legislative procedure.

The Russian government is exercising executive power. It consists of the prime minister and federal ministers.

A strong presidential power does not limit in any way the legislative authority, but on the contrary, makes it stronger. There will be no Congress of People's Deputies, but a two-chamber parliament called the Federal Assembly. The Council of the Federation shall be elected by Russian republics and regions, while the State Assembly shall be elected on the territorial principle.

The Constitution provides for independent and fully-fledged judicial authorities, including the Constitutional and the Supreme Courts and the Court of Arbitration. The judicial system shall protect human rights and freedoms and defends people from arbitrariness of the state, bureaucrats, political and other organisations.

The Constitution is the basis for local self-government which is the exclusive right of municipal bodies. Municipal self-government shall act outside the framework of state authority and be independent from it, which will promote normal social and economic development of various Russian regions different in their economic, georgraphical and historical conditions.

The seven basic provisions "cannot be infringed upon by any body, any official no matter what high authority it or he enjoys", President Boris Yeltsin said in a foreword to the draft.

"The vote of confidence in the president (at the coming referendum) is not a vote for an abstract future, but a vote for concrete legal guarantees, civil rights and human values" of each and every Russian citizen, the president added.

The draft costitution is a synthesis of all the best proposals advanced by the Constitutional Commission, the president and various working groups. It is a fruit of collective labour, on the one hand, and a principled position of the president, on the other, yeltsin said expressing hope that he will find understanding among the people.

The draft will be forwarded to Russian regions and later published in the press.

Shakhray: New Constitution To Overcome 'Dyarchy'

LD2704141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray has described the presidential draft new constitution as a project to overcome dyarchy in Russia at a news conference here today. He said the document includes principles and provisions of drafts submitted by the constitutional commission and renowned jurists.

The draft new fundamental law will be published on April 29 to envisage the creation of presidential republic in Russia, where the president will be the head of state and not the head of the executive power. The supreme body of this authority will be a powerful independent government to be accountable for its activities to the president and the two-chamber parliament. The latter will enjoy the legislative power.

Head of the private right center Sergey Alekseyev, who helped to prepare the document, described it as a draft of "strong but democratic power". In his words, the draft declares the sanctity of human rights and freedoms, their maximum protection and prevention of excessive power concentration by a state institution. The draft is a document to ensure "prudent presidency, powerful constitutional justice and fully-fledged federalism", he stressed.

Alekseyev described the choice of a mechanism to adopt the new constitution as a "damned problem of transition to the new legal system at a time of social system change". He counts on the opinion of federation subjects in solution to this complicated issue, since they can establish the order of formation of a constituent assembly. If the latter takes a decision to adopt the draft constitution, it will have to be confirmed by a referendum, he noted.

Experts Argue Constitution Broadens Yeltsin's Powers

LD2704141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—"Human rights are set forth more comprehensively in the current Constitution of Russia than in the principles of the new basic law, published by the president," says a commentary by director of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Law and Comparative Jurisprudence Institute Lev Okunkov and

doctor of law, Professor Boris Krylov, head of a department at this institute. It was published by the parliamentary press service here today. The two scientists note that the president's draft does not say, as universally accepted, that "rule by the people constitutes the constitutional system's unshakeable foundation". In their opinion, the draft "grossly upsets the balance between the legislative and executive branches of government" and makes "the president's prerogatives much broader than those of the strongest presidents ever known to the civilised world". He shall have the right to dissovle the parliament, which cannot be done by the U.S. president, for instance.

The president will exert substantial influence on the formation of judicial bodies which, in turn, will be vested with new powers. The Supreme Court Council, including the heads of the three supreme courts and three federal judges appointed by the president, which is something quite new in Russia, shall have the right to interpret the constitution. Now this right belongs only to the representative body, the commentary notes. Without any agreement with the parliament, the president shall have the right to appoint and dismiss government members.

In Krylov's opinion, the basic principles of the new constitution "constitute an attempt to weaken the powers of precisely the organs that have refused lately, for these or other reasons, to agree with definite aspects of the policy pursued by the president and the bodies subordinated to him".

Shakhray Seen as Yeltsin's 'Eminence Grise'

PM2604140693 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[K. Valentinov article: "Eminence Grise, or What Shakhray Has Up His Sleeve"]

[Text] INTERFAX has issued a sensational report that First Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray sees himself as the future president of Russia. The news agency was citing Sergey Mikhaylovich's own words...

God knows, arguing with the strong men of this world is not a very restful occupation. But it cannot be helped, if I have the documents here in my hands—transcripts of conversations with people who are, shall we say, close to those in power and have a good idea what is being brewed in the political kitchen and how.

True, Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray is today one of the closest comrades in arms, as they used to say in the old days, of the president; he is a political figure who formulates the outlines and content of a policy which, once published, is described as the president's policy.

How did this energetic, self-confident man arrive in big politics and how does it come about that policy is formed with his participation? Sooner or later these questions will have to be answered. The best thing for the cause and for Russia is to do this right now. Because in giving President Yeltsin our votes in the referendum we will thereby automatically, so to speak, be approving the style of political activity that is characteristic of his immediate entourage.

I admit that my interlocutors may have been subjective to some extent; personal conflicts and private dramas have always been played out in the corridors of power. They do, however, show certain characteristic patterns.

And so, Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray... He, I repeat, holds a special place in the president's entourage, in the defining of his policy and in the formulation of the edicts which the president proclaims or intends to proclaim. Here are just a few instances of how "it" is done.

At the beginning of March there was a session of the Russian Federation Security Council. These sessions are secret or even top secret. Among other things, two draft presidential edicts were examined: on the reform of military structures and border and internal troops on the territory of the Russian Federation's North Caucasus region, and on state support for the Cossacks. Note: two draft edicts.

They did not receive the unanimous support of all the Council members, because it was clear that historically, politically, and psychologically this approach was too dangerous and could only herald destructive processes for the Russian Federation.

The president's reaction was one of extreme irritation. He said roughly this: What is the problem, can't you agree among yourselves—Shakhray and Skokov? Come to an agreement, and then let us examine these questions... And so one of the main "drafters" of the edicts was named—Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, chairman of the government commission on the Cossacks.

The advice to the president that before signing the edicts he should discuss them with the leaders of the republics of the North Caucasus, was perfectly sensible. B.N. Yeltsin agreed to do so. And then, a few days later, it was announced on television that the president had signed the Edict "On the Reform of Military Structures and Border and Internal Troops on the Territory of the Russian Federation's North Caucasus Region and on State Support for the Cossacks."

So the two drafts turned into one edict, which, contrary to all logic and indeed to the rules of legal practice, attempted to fuse these very important problems.

Everyone knows what this started. The style of the document, its content, and the subsequent arguments in its defense—all this indicates the hand of Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray. How can anyone push the president so criminally and irresponsibly toward the destruction of Russia, how can anyone deal so imperially and brazenly with the peoples of the Northern Caucasus?

And soon there was the president's well-known television appearance, in which he declared his intention of

imposing a "special system of administration" in the country. It is well known that there was one minister who came out against these unconstitutional intentions. This was Justice Minister Fedorov.

However hard we journalists tried at the time to discover his motives, his reasons for resigning, Nikolay Fedorov refused to give interviews, and would only say over the telephone: "For me, my human conscience and professional dignity as a lawyer are more valuable than their political ambitions."

The following day there was an emergency session of the Russian Federation Government. A detailed account of the edict was provided by Sergey Shakhray... And it became quite obvious that here too he was behind events that shook Russia. Just as for many it also became obvious that Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin had not read the edict by then.

Another question that arose was which lawyers were involved in drafting the edict. Not a single name was given, although everyone already knew who the "lawyers" were—Sergey Shakhray and his "boys."

That is one facet of the contender for the role of state leader, but we citizens of Russia cannot disregard moral qualities. There was one really staggering instance... Sergey Shakhray was working at the time at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation. He was an ordinary technical worker, taken on by Konstantin Lubenchenko to computerize the committee's work. And then, after the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in 1989, during parliament's summer vacation, K. Lubenchenko appointed the Legislation Committee's first delegation for a trip to the United States. The delegation included Konstantin Lubenchenko himself, Andrey Sebentsov, and Nikolay Fedorov, independent and democratic people. The delegation was to go to the United States as an independent delegation of deputies. Lubenchenko decided to take Shakhray along too. The process of documentation for the trip began, a very rigorous process in those days. The relevant bodies would not give Shakhray the "go-ahead" to leave the country, because, it emerged, after one trip abroad he had left a bad impression in his wake. Not until the last moment did K. Lubenchenko obtain permission for him to go.

The delegation to the United States undoubtedly had the patronage of well-qualified people who knew their jobs. But then, when the time came to leave, it emerged that Sergey Mikhaylovich wanted a separate car—he had bought too much equipment for large sums of hard currency. The delegation members were shocked. They went to the park opposite the White House so as to discuss what to do well away from curious ears.

Sergey Shakhray explained that he had borrowed money from Americans. Asked how he would repay his debts, he replied laconically: "I will think of something back in Moscow." This was putting the independent delegation in a very difficult position, the three deputies decided.

The delegation members, after consultation, presented Sergey Shakhray with a kind of ultimatum: Either you return the equipment and repay your personal debts to your American "friends," or else, on landing at Sheremetyevo, you will be handed over to the appropriate bodies for criminal proceedings. Shakhray was lucky. He got away with it, his baggage from his American "friends" was removed. Sergey Mikhaylovich left the United States without it.

Why am I writing about this?... I do not think a politician should have any stains on his leisure clothes or his office suit. Least of all a possible presidential candidate. According to all the rules of the civilized world, the country should know everything about him, including episodes from his private life.

After his return to Moscow, Shakhray was expelled from the Legislation Committee, abruptly but without much publicity. The decision to that effect was signed by the committee chairman, the well-known Sergey Alekseyev.

And that was the story...

The question arises: Whose support does the president rely on in his policy? But I have no answer to that. Many top officials have had "eminences grises." The smartest people have served them faithfully. Shakhray obviously "serves" only himself. And bides his time. I write this with anxiety, because there are many indications, direct and indirect, that in the president's entourage they are counting on using the referendum results in order to apply unconstitutional, unlawful methods of ensuring that Russia is governed by the presidential power.

Muscovites Growing Disenchanted With Rutskoy

MK2704091093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev-prepared report: "How His Words Echoed"]

[Text] On 23 April 1993, the Moscow branch of the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion (Komkon-2) conducted a snap poll among 1,371 Muscovites. The breakdown of answers to some of the questions asked with regard to Muscovites' attitude to Aleksandr Rutskoy during that survey are expressed in percentage points:

"How has your attitude to Aleksandr Rutskoy changed in the past few days following his public statements?"

Improved	12
Did not change	33
Changed for the worse	42
Do not know	13

Attitudes toward Rutskoy showed a relatively greater tendency to improve among workers, managers, pensioners, those aged 55 and over, and those without secondary education.

Attitudes toward the vice-president worsened most often among entrepreneurs, professionals, and generally those with a higher educational level.

Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democrats Hold Fourth Congress

LD2504140393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Shestakov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The fourth congress of the Liberal Democratic Party opened in Moscow today. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, its leader, delivered a report on the work he completed during his three years as chairman of the party. As was expected, he was re-elected for the second term of office. It is worth noting that one of the foreigners invited to attend the congress was a personal envoy of Saddam Husayn. The issue of tomorrow's referendum was not raised directly. However, in a private conversation the foreign minister of the shadow Liberal Democratic cabinet said that the party will demand early elections of both the president and people's deputies. Zhirinovskiy will run for the presidency again in the event of new elections. Despite the fact that Yeltsin is the main political opponent of Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir Volfovich has more patience for him than for Khasbulatov. In Zhirinovskiy's opinion only Russians can occupy leading posts in the state. That is why a bad Yeltsin is still better than a good Khasbulatov.

Yeltsin Derided for Building Luxury Dacha

PM2204150593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Gerasimov report: "'Special Dacha' for Fighter Against Privileges. B.N. Yeltsin's Estate in Uspenskoye Near Moscow Is Valued at as Much as 1 Billion Rubles. The Estate Is, it Has To Be Said, Small—Occupying all of Four Hectares of Land"]

[Text] There are places in the Moscow area which cannot be reached by suburban train, as there are no railroads there! If in addition the highway is so narrow that buses do not use them, it is simply a calamity for dacha owners. If, of course, they do not have their own transport...

Take, for example, the Rublevo-Uspenskoye highway. The nearest railroad line is at Minskoye. And the highway is so narrow that two automobiles meeting one another could hardly get past without bumping. But dachas are nevertheless being built here, so that the land does not go to waste! They have been building here since Stalin's days—this is a mighty fine place! You cannot breath enough of the air, there is silence, the birds sing without fear, trustful animals wander through the woods, and there are mushrooms by the plateful.

It seems that adjectives like "pioneer" and "komsomol" have sunk into oblivion. Only a few periodicals, which actually have nothing in common either with the pioneers or the komsomol, have preserved them, probably for our amusement. As far as pioneer camps are concerned—with their camp fires and drums, and their camp lines and ceremonial rituals—they are no longer built.

But in the direction of Rublevo there is a suitable place—four hectares of land, in the middle of a rustling pine wood in the village of Uspenskoye—what freedom for the children. But how many people in this country who are waiting for their own hard earned 0.06 hectares will not see them?

However, this piece of land was disposed of in a different manner at the State Committee for Land Reform: They scrutinized the future dacha owner's application and gave the go-ahead: Build to your heart's content on all four hectares! True, at first they took cautious interest: So, what is the trouble, they said, is the state dacha too small if you have found a private one necessary? To which they received a reply covering everything: We are living in troubled times at the moment—you can be deprived of your state dacha in two ticks together your state position...

...So work began to move apace in the village of Uspenskoye. The area was first of all surrounded with a concrete wall, guards with dogs were stuck around the perimeter, then they really got down to things. Excavators began to hum and bulldozers spluttered into action; lines of trucks stretched into Uspenskoye which were loaded right up with scarce building materials.

"Where does a dacha owner get hold of such money?" the impatient reader might ask. What is the state's role in this? Though dying, it still has life in it! It was the state funded organization, the Main Administration for the Russian Federation President's Guard which was the body which had commissioned the facility under construction. People had been found to carry out the work—forced labor—two subunits from a state security service construction unit which were stationed in Ochagov.

Incidentally, as A. Rutskoy reported to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session, President Yeltsin has 250 personal bodyguards and 11,000 staffers in the guard administration. Money for their upkeep costs the state budget, that is the Russian taxpayer, 15 billion rubles [R] a year.

...Meanwhile when I was trying to reach the village of Uspenskoye, I counted 11 State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration posts at each of which I was sympathetically warned:

"When you see submachineguns on the road, be as careful as possible—they may shoot!

A slightly inebriated guard at the gates talked with someone on his walkie-talkie at length, then disgustedly returned my editorial pass to me:

"Get permission from the owner, then I will let you in..."

But it was, however, absolutely impossible to get this as the "owner" was at that time trying to reach an agreement with Clinton and it was extremely inconvenient to drag him away from this. Also, permission to see over the dacha would have led to the final collapse of his image as a "fighter against privilege."

I had to use the "pioneer's" method of climbing the wall.

The construction of the dacha—if you can call a four-story palace this—is already nearing completion. The detached house has been executed with elements of gothic: It has a narrowing, steeply angled roof, a pediment with a colonnade, small sculptured forms which emphasize the modest gentility of the "owner," and terra-cotta elements which remind you of Florentine and Paduan bronzes. The roof itself attracts your attention even from afar with its unusual luster—it is like a burning flare behind the pines.

D. Zolotov, the building's contractor, revealed the secret of this intriguing luster:

"The roof is covered with copper against the weather. This is why it shines. There was even a rumor that it would be covered by a layer of gold leaf...."

There is probably no need to mention that the glass in the windows is bullet-proof. On the inside the house is clad with Finnish Vagonka [meaning unknown]; the lounge is graced by a carved and vaulted ceiling; the lavatory and bathroom are supplied directly with water with variable temperature settings: cold, warm, and hot—for this purpose a special boiler is being built beyond the plot of land.

I read with surprise the words of Omar Khayyam which someone had scratched on the railings at the main entrance: "You are either a sinner or a saint, poor or rich—when you leave, do not hope to return." Whoever had given the "owner" this wise warning signed himself simply: "Naro-Fominsk, ITK-129/4."

Unfortunately, the guard displayed excessive vigilance which is why on the way back to the wall I was detained with a photojournalist, searched, and the film in my camera exposed to the light. We had to climb onto each other's shoulders and take several pictures from behind the wall. Stones and pieces of mud were thrown at us—the private workers are earning a great deal at the site and are afraid of losing their work. As one of them, P. Burin, told me, for the most tenuous link with journalists, you are deprived not only of your work and money, but also of your...labor book. This has already been the case when when in the wake of a publication in PRAVDA a stream of journalists flooded into the detached house on Osennyaya Street in Krylatskoye: Five workers were dismissed, three servicemen received reprimands and their transfer to the reserve was postponed. The link between the house in Krylatskoye and the special dacha in the village of Uspenskoye is an absolutely direct one: They have one and the same occupier and owner. For this read landowner.

"The land and the estate in Uspenskoye, which cost the state almost R1 billion, is the Russian Federation president's private property," A. Sindrevich, chairman of the State Committee for Land Reform emphasized, "and irrespective of whether he continues to hold some post or retires, the land together with the house will belong to him indivisibly..."

It is likely that this is why the "reformers" needed "wholesale" privatization: Private property for state money—is this not paradise on earth?

'Clear Answer' Demanded

PM2304102593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Voldemar Koreshkov report: "How Many Dachas Does the President Have?"]

[Text] Inquisitive readers and, moreover, taxpayers will naturally have noted the PRAVDA article "Special Dacha for Fighter Against Privileges" (21 April this year).

If you look at the photograph accompanying the article—a colonnaded four-story house is visible through the pine trees—and see the information about the area of land set aside for the estate, the billion rubles it cost, and the use of very scarce construction materials, you cannot help asking who lives in this mansion and who would want to?

PRAVDA claims that this is Boris Yeltsin's new estate in Uspenskoye near Moscow.

Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov claims in a statement issued 21 April that **"the reality is far more mundane and modest. President B.N. Yeltsin's family are indeed building their own personal dacha. But in just one place—Gorki near Moscow. The dacha is being built with the Yeltsin family's personal funds. The size of the plot is 25 acres."**

While taking note of this information and the press secretary's emotional statement about a slander campaign against the president and members of the government on the eve of the referendum, we would nonetheless like to clarify just what the place photographed by PRAVDA is.

If it is a new country residence for the Russian president, there are already plenty of these residences in the prettiest parts of the Moscow area. Take just those which were previously occupied by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the former president of

the USSR. Admittedly, many state dachas were later valued at book cost and were privatized by their users.

If it is the property of some multibillionaire, the question arises of where he got the money from and for what services he is receiving this heavenly munificence.

I do not wish to cast aspersions, but readers are awaiting a clear answer on the essence of the question from the president's press secretary.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Economic Reform

LD2704133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1258 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr—A meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin took place in the Kremlin today. They exchanged opinions in connection with the forthcoming discussion by the government of the socio-economic development of the country in the first quarter of 1993. Chernomyrdin is to deliver a report on this issue.

The meeting discussed the pace of the economic reform, the press service of the Russian president has reported. The meeting analyzed the preliminary results of the referendum and looked into ways of improving the effectiveness of government work in connection with the fact that during the referendum the population energetically supported the president's and the government's policy of reforms. The agenda of the meeting also included issues of economic relations between the CIS countries and the situation in the North Caucasus.

Yeltsin Signs Decree Granting Land for Citizens

LD2304155993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1351 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today signed a decree "On additional measures to provide citizens with plots of land." This was reported by the press service for the Russian Federation president.

The form of granting the plots (ownership, life-long inheritable possession, or lease) is determined according to the wish of the citizen, it states in the document.

By decree of the president, the bodies of executive power of the republics within the Russian Federation, the krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are charged with determining, within a two-month period, the citizens' needs in obtaining plots of land for payment and gratis to build individual housing, for market gardening, as personal auxiliary plots, and for other purposes.

It is established in the document that documents are to be issued to citizens on the newly granted plots of land which certify the right of citizens to the land and which will establish the boundaries of the plots at the site. From the moment these documents are issued citizens receive the right to the land which can only be ended in accordance with the reasons envisaged in the Land Code of the RSFSR.

Chernomyrdin Cited on Expected Grain Harvest

PM2704104993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Rybakov "Notes on Results of Tour of Southern Regions of Russia by Chairman of Russian Federation Council of Ministers": "Viktor Chernomyrdin: Harvest of 106-108 Million Tonnes Expected According to Specialists' Forecasts"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] This is what Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin said when asked by your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent whether Russia will have grain this year:

"A harvest of 106-108 million tonnes is expected according to specialists' forecasts. What is more, farms are storing around 4 million tonnes of last year's harvest. So Russia will be supplied with grain. Of course, the sowing has to be done in an organized manner in order to ensure this."

Yeltsin Decree on Creation of Legal Information Centers

LD2504095293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 93

[Text] RIA today reported a decree by President Boris Yeltsin on measures to speed up the creation of legal information centers. This is needed for the development of legal policy, work programs on laws, and the legal back-up for reforms. The Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information, which comes under the Russian president, is entrusted with the functions of implementing the legal information program.

Media Issues

Poltoranin Rejects Threats To Limit Free Speech

LD2604130293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1124 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 26 Apr—"The Federal Information Center of Russia hereby informs the representative bodies that any attempts to limit freedom of speech or impose unacceptable conditions on the professional activity of collectives of state television and radio companies will be seen by journalists as a revenge campaign

against the press, with all the resulting consequences", says a statement issued by the Center's leader, Mikhail Poltoranin.

"At today's session of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov and those who share his views issued a threat to the mass media. The statement notes that this means that steps will be taken at the next sessions of the Supreme Soviet to stifle freedom of speech.

"Having totally lost the referendum, the supporters of primitive communism have begun a witch hunt. I want to say to the majority of people's deputies: The press is not the cause of your misfortunes; nor is it in the 'alleged juggling of the facts' that you so assiduously search for. Your misfortunes rest with yourselves, or to be more precise, with your anti-Russian position. It is entirely understandable that the people, on whose behalf you speak with such inspiration, have said 'no' to the corps of deputies."

"Are these deputies now entitled to take any steps to change or refurbish laws? I think that the law on the mass media will also remain inviolable," Poltoranin stresses. [passage omitted]

Suspension of Congress Ruling on Freedom of Speech Sought

LD2304221493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Representatives of Russian People's Deputies have requested the Constitutional Court to send to the Supreme Soviet a demand that it suspend the resolution of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on measures to ensure freedom of speech on the state broadcast media and in information services. Reporting this move, the Russian Ministry of Press and Mass Media recalls that the Constitutional Court has initiated proceedings to check whether the resolution in question complies with the Constitution.

However, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and soviets in the regions are making attempts to speed up implementation of the resolution without waiting for the Constitutional Court's decision. In the ministry's opinion, such haste could lead to irreversible legal consequences.

Opposition Media Urges Return to Former Regime

LD2304182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—Opposition media is increasing reports to campaign for its stand on the referendum eve. Sometimes, they even use frauds and falsifications, says a report of the Russian president's press service circulated here today.

The example of Moscow media advocates of the totalitarian past is followed by their supporters in Russian provinces.

The latest sample of this is a "letter" published by the LIPETSKAYA GAZETA newspaper on April 23. Its authors—"clergymen from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Chelyabinsk and other cities"—call on the believers and the clergy to do their best to restore the old regime. The real stand of heads of all Russian confessions, expressed at a recent meeting with President Boris Yeltsin, is concealed from the readers, says the report.

Military & Space Issues

Presidential Statement on Chemical Arms Destruction

MK2404131693 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 46, 24 Apr 93 p 3 (signed to press 23 Apr)

[Russian Presidential Statement on the Destruction of Chemical Weapons under the rubric "Document"]

[Text] In recent months, the public in a number of regions has been alarmed over the problem of the destruction of chemical weapons.

Tens of thousands of tonnes of toxic combat agents have been produced and stored in Russia over the preceding decades. The world has changed, as has Russia's position in the world—we are not going to attack anyone. The time has come to get rid of chemical weapons—a past we have inherited. This is not the opinion of Russia alone, but also the shared opinion of 138 countries that signed a convention banning chemical weapons in Paris this year.

We must start destruction of chemical weapons proceeding not only from the requirements of international but also national security: because the condition of the shells and containers is gradually degrading and the weapons cannot be stored indefinitely. These weapons were manufactured over many years at several factories. The destruction process will be complex, and will take much time to complete, but a start should be made. A state program for the destruction of chemical weapons is being prepared at the present time. It will be based on the following principles:

1. Complete safety as regards human life and the environment;

2. Full compliance with all the requirements for the social welfare of the population living in the zones influenced by the presence of the chemical weapons destruction enterprises;

3. The use of the latest technologies which ensure minimal risk and permit as a result of destruction, where possible, the production of expensive chemical substances;

4. Reduction to a minimum of the transport of toxic substances across the territory of Russia. Work to destroy chemical weapons shall be started only upon positive findings by state expert examination on the program as a whole and on each installation. Taking an active part in such expert examination will necessarily be not only scientists and specialists, but also representatives of public, including ecological, organizations, both all-Russian and regional.

I am calling upon the bodies of executive power of Udmurtia, Chuvashia, and Saratov Oblast to join actively in the drafting of this program, setting the priorities, and determining the conditions for the preparation for work to destroy chemical weapons. This participation will help turn this inevitable step into a powerful lever of social and economic development of considerable territories of the country under strictly ensured guarantees of population safety.

A sizable part of the funds obligated for the above-mentioned program will be channeled to solve problems related to regional health issues, the welfare of mothers and children, the building of housing, community projects, roads, and other civil engineering infrastructure projects.

The mountains of now useless and dangerous weapons are a burdensome heritage of our past. Russia should get rid of them for the benefit of its own security and for the security of the entire world.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

[Dated] 20 April 1993

Grachev Says President Approved Mercedes Purchase

PM2604121793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Shishkin article under "Details for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA" rubric: "Pavel Sergeyevich Acquires Mercedes Only With Boris Nikolayevich's Assent"]

[Text] Yesterday the Russian General Prosecutor's Office Center for Information and Public Relations issued a report on cases of abuse of office by the Western Group of Forces' top-level command, including Defense Minister P.S. Grachev.

In response to this report Pavel Grachev told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "none of the new facts cited in the report exist."

In making such a statement to the press Pavel Sergeyevich clearly forgot that about three weeks ago, during questioning conducted by the senior investigator of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office for specially important cases, he personally acknowledged the existence of these "new facts" and specifically the fact that in the summer of 1992 two Mercedes 500 SEL were purchased in Germany for the Russian Defense Ministry.

Asked by the investigator on whose initiative, for what purposes, and with what funds the automobiles were acquired, Grachev replied that this was done "on the initiative of the Ministry of Defense on the authorization of the president of the Russian Federation, given the ban on the use of ZIL's and the fact that the Defense Ministry's existing Mercedes had been taken by Marshal Shaposhnikov on the president's authorization....

"One of the cars was acquired out of the Western Group of Forces' extrabudgetary resources, obtained from selling the rubber crumb from reprocessed tires and scrap metal. The second car was acquired by selling surplus military technical equipment belonging to the Western Group of Forces."

So that readers fully understand the crux of the problem let us explain (please do not hold the long list of documents against us) that under USSR Council of Ministers Decree No. 1112 (29 October 1990) and the following documents issued in extension of it—USSR Defense Ministry Directive No. D-57 (1991), Western Group of Forces Commander in Chief Directive No. D-219 (1991), Russian Federation Defense Ministry Central Finance Directorate Instruction No. 44(3)2293 (1991), and finally **Russian Federation Defense Ministry Order No. 100 (1992)—resources obtained from the sale of property and the leasing of facilities of the Western Group of Forces are to be used for a strictly specific purpose—the purchase of construction material for troops being withdrawn to CIS territory, the acquistion of housing for servicemen, and the improvement of the sociocultural and everyday living conditions of the personnel of the military units of the Western Group of Forces** (the emphasis is mine—V.P.).

It is interesting that Grachev's response to the investigator's listing of all the aforementioned documents, from which it is clear that the Mercedes acquired could not come under any one of the expenditure headings, was: "The acquisition of the aforementioned Mercedes was agreed with the president of the Russian Federation."

"How much did the two Mercedes cost?"—I asked Valeriy Voynov, investigator for specially important cases at Russia's General Prosecutor's Office.

"Their total cost is estimated at 319,480.6 german marks," Voynov answered.

General Voices Alarm Over Air Defense Forces' Future

PM2604121393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 5

[S. Turchenko report: "Duel Over the Ocean. The Soviet Su-27 Against U.S. Fighter"]

[Excerpts] Colonel General of Aviation A. Kornukov, commander of the Moscow Air Defense District, recently invited a group of journalists to the city of Bezhetsk to "review" a regiment of Su-27 fighters which is being formed from scratch. [passage omitted]

During the Bezhetsk meeting with journalists, Col. Gen. of Aviation Kornukov spoke proudly of the military hardware "trade fair" held recently in Abu Dhabi. He said in particular:

"Our missile operators achieved an excellent performance in test firing the S-300 antiaircraft complex in desert conditions. The Americans did not run the risk of conducting similar test fire in these conditions using the widely publicized 'Patriot' system...."

Wonderful! But "businessman" Grachev failed to sign a single serious contract in Abu Dhabi. The aggressive friends elbowed him out again. It would not go amiss to remind readers: Everything in our possession now, which could be described as the best in the world, was created during the "times of stagnation which were hard and unpromising for Russia." So far, the democratic regime has not "sculpted" anything apart from city halls, prefectures, and the disgusting class of speculators. It has even proved incapable of selling off to the state's benefit that which was created during the "stagnation." To make matters worse, not only is it incapable of selling off, it is actually incapable of retaining on its own territory that which was available in the past.

Look at that selfsame Bezhetsk regiment for example. Its "review" was, strictly speaking, premature. Only two Su-27 squadrons have been formed so far. It is proving hard to assemble the third squadron's aircraft, which are spread around the national homes of former Union republics. Yet Russia needs such regiments very badly! Especially in view of the fact that its air defense has virtually fallen apart. For the first time in our state's history, the Moscow Air Defense District is a border district. But instead of bringing here everything that is best and combat-capable, the top echelons of power are already beginning to ponder the idea of eliminating the air defense as being surpluss to requirements.

"We are alarmed by the future prospects of Air Defense Forces as an autonomous branch of the Armed Forces," Col. Gen. of Aviation Kornukov appealed to journalists. "It is necessary to do everything to preserve them, including the only surviving air defense district—the Moscow District. It is stupid to think that we are living in a trouble-free and cloudless world. Hundreds of billions of rubles have been spent creating this system. Now we are getting reports that they want to dilute our forces within the Ground Forces. This would mean the Air Defense Forces' collapse...."

Proposed Reform of Armed Forces Command Reported

MK2404125293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 11

[Vladimir Savvin report: "Territorial Commands To Be Recreated"]

[Text] Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, has completed his inspection trip to army units in Siberia and the Far East. During his meetings with the regional military command he stated the Russian top military and political leadership's intention to form a number of new territorial commands on the basis of the existing military command structure. According to Grachev, this was prompted by the need to retain efficient control over the troops in conditions of substantial defense cuts.

The first of the new-type territorial operational-strategic formations with headquarters in the area of Komsomolsk-na-Amure is to be formed on the basis of the largest Armed Forces groupings currently deployed in the Far East by as early as 1995. The new command will be headed by a commander in chief with the rank of Russian deputy defense minister. The military leaders believe that by creating new commands based on a territorial principle they will be able to control the troops more efficiently and to slash significantly the maintenance costs of the medium-level command components. In addition (and most importantly in the minister's view), this will make it possible to create a formidable task force comprising Army, Air Force, Air Defense, and Naval units. At the same time, the corresponding commands of the Far Eastern Military District and the Pacific Fleet will be retained (apparently on a provisional basis), whereas the nuclear forces (strategic aviation units in the area of Blagoveshchensk, the Chita-based Missile Army, and missile submarines in the Pacific Ocean) and also the space troops will remain subordinated to the supreme commander in chief. The next step in the new military reorganization program will involve the formation of a similar joint command for the troops deployed in the Baykal Region and Siberia (on the basis of the Zabaykalskiy and Siberian Military Districts) with the headquarters to be located in Ulan-Ude. It is possible that similar commands will be set up along Russia's southern border on the basis of the North-Caucasian Military District and the troops deployed along the borders with and inside Central Asian republics.

Observers note that the program for the reform of the Russian Armed Forces along territorial lines announced during Grachev's tour closely resembles the process of setting up command facilities of the Armed Forces of the former USSR in the key strategic directions in 1979-1984. At that time, also starting from the Far East, four extremely formidable strategic commands were set up within five years that were comparable with the NATO forces in Europe in terms of their infrastructure and the

strength of the units assigned to them. Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union those commands became unviable and were dismantled. According to observers, the steps aimed at recreating them in line with territorial changes and the shifts in the directions from which a military threat might come appear entirely logical and justified ones.

[Article contains the following boxed passage]

Armed Forces groups to be reassigned to the Joint Command in the Far East

—Far Eastern Military District (Commander—Colonel General Viktor Chechevatov)

—Pacific Fleet (Admiral Grigoriy Gurinov)

—1st Air Force Army (Aviation Lieutenant General Viktor Kozlov)

—11th Detached Air Defense Army (Lt. Gen. Albert Smyshnikov)

—Border troop units subordinate to the Security Ministry and units of the Internal Affairs Ministry troops (transferred to operational subordination for the purpose of better interaction).

[The report includes a map showing territorial operational-strategic formations of the Russian Armed Forces with current and proposed headquarters: the Joint Command of Troops in Southern Russia with headquarters in Rostov-na-Donu and the headquarters of the existing military district in Krasnodar; the Joint Command of Troops in Siberia and Baykal Region with headquarters in Ulan-Ude and the headquarters of the existing military district in Novosibirsk and Chita; the Joint Command of Troops in the Far East with headquarters in Komsomolsk-na-Amure, and the headquarters of the existing military district in Khabarovsk.]

Arms Export System To Be Reorganized

MK2404124693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 11

[Roman Glebov report: "Arms Trade Reform To Follow Ministry of External Economic Relations Plan"]

[Text] The Interdepartmental Commission on Military/Technical Cooperation [ICMTC] has established guidelines for reforming the arms trade system. The minutes of the commission's session signed by chairman Georgiy Khizha were sent to its members yesterday.

Founded a year ago in accordance with Boris Yeltsin's edict, the ICMTC coordinates the activities of organizations involved in the arms trade. The main ones among them are Roskomoboronprom [Russian State Defense Industrial Committee], which represents the interests of arms manufacturers; the Defense Ministry, which defines the strategy of military-technical cooperation; and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations [MFER], which carries out export operations.

"Each side is seeking to derive its own benefit from military-technical cooperation," Nikolay Petrakov, the commission's executive secretary, said, commenting on the present condition of the arms trade system. Each department has proposed its own version of the reform.

Yevgeniy Yanpolskiy, Roskomoboronprom deputy chairman, believes that the export system should above all take the interests of arms producers into account. Thus far the sole revenue these enterprises receive from export operations is 12 percent of the hard-currency incomes that they earn in tandem with the MFER's foreign trade firms—the Main Administration for Collaboration and Cooperation [MACC], Oboroneksport, and Spetsvneshtekhnika. The producers are not happy with the activity of these firms: 20 billion rubles worth of weapons ordered by the MFER in 1992 have not been sold yet and are still being held at the enterprises. In connection with this, Roskomoboronprom suggested that an export system, parallel to the MFER's, be set up within whose framework the producers themselves could sell weapons manufactured in excess of state orders, distribute profits, pay for the services of intermediaries, and set prices.

Aleksey Shulunov, president of the League of Defense Enterprises, which protects the interests of the defense industry, believes: "Today spare parts for our military equipment are being produced in Israel and France. The enterprises must be allowed to export spare parts bypassing the MFER's sluggish export system."

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev would like to strengthen the Defense Ministry's role as a monitor of military-technical cooperation. He suggests that the Defense Ministry receive no less than 10 percent of hard-currency revenues from any export arms deliveries and that it export surplus equipment in the ministry's possession.

Prior to the commission meeting Sergey Glazyev, head of the MFER, dismissed Valeriy Mironov as chief of the MFER's department for military and technical cooperation (this position is now occupied by Aleksandr Kotelkin) and his deputy Vladimir Shibayev. In addition, he announced the intention to "cede MACC to the League of Defense Enterprises." According to Glazyev, the MACC is to cease its independent existence and merge with the joint-stock company Konvimeks, whose start-up capital will be distributed as follows: 51 percent will belong to the state (as represented by MACC) and 49 percent to the League of Defense Enterprises. At the same time Konvimeks will receive a license to export arms and military equipment.

Glazyev also proposed that an arms producers' monitoring council be set up under the MFER's specialized foreign trade agencies, and if the producers are not

satisfied, then joint-stock companies should be set up with the participation of MFER's enterprises and foreign trade agencies.

The commission has accepted the MFER's proposals as a basis for further work.

It is noteworthy that the commission's other decisions refer to the future. It has instructed relevant departments to come up within two months with the following proposals: on granting arms exporters exemptions from customs duties; on provision of soft credits to enterprises for manufacturing weapons in excess of state orders; and on drawing up a list of enterprises producing spare parts that will get licenses to export their products without special permission from the government. At the same time competition in the foreign market will become impossible—the commission has instructed the Ministry of Security to come up with proposals on liability for unauthorized operations in the foreign market.

[Article contains following boxed passage]

The existing system of military/technical cooperation

—The series of endorsements required to obtain permission to export arms: the president, the government, the ICMTC, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Economy, the MFER, the Defense Ministry, and the Foreign Intelligence Service.

—Arms export operations are conducted by MFER's foreign trade firms: Oboroneksport, Spetsvneshtekhnika, and MACC.

—The procedure of obtaining the endorsements takes up between two and 15 months.

Army Facing New Problems With Recruitment

LD2604194393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By "Voyen Television" correspondent Ilyin on Moscow Armed Forces draft, including recorded remarks by V.I. Dobrovolskiy, Moscow city draft deputy commissioner; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A new draft has started in Russia.

[Ilyin] The first recruits have been sent to the Army from the Moscow assembly point today. This event is also special because this spring callup is based for the first time on the law on military duty and military service, passed recently by the Supreme Soviet. One should not draw any early conclusions on the effectiveness of the law. However, some military experts believe its efficiency will not exceed 20 percent in Russia, whereas in Germany the same figure stands at 50 percent and in Italy at 80 percent.

Of Moscow's 150,000 listed recruits only 10,000 will join the Army by the end of the year. Incidentally, many educational establishments will provide, for a reasonable remuneration, any documents granting exemption from the Army. Over 4,000 people are wanted by Moscow police since last year for evading Army service.

[Dobrovolskiy] The law is socially unfair with regard to young men. Imagine, we will call up only two recruits per 100 during the spring. I believe Army service should either be for everybody or for nobody. If for nobody, then the service should be strictly voluntary.

[Ilyin] These young lads, all from Moscow by the way, were sent today to fulfill their civic duty and serve under the banners of the presidential regiment.

'Cosmos-2243' Space Apparatus Launched 27 Apr

LD2704131793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1245 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—The "Cosmos-2243" space apparatus was launced today at 14 hours 35 minutes Moscow time [1035 GMT] from the Baykonur cosmodrome. The launch was carried out in the interests of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation by a "Soyuz" rocket carrier.

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Resumes Work 27 Apr; Agenda Viewed

LD2704084193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0604 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr—After a short break connected with preparations for the referendum, the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet resumed work today. It is expected that a number of priority draft laws, and the draft law "on standardization" and the customs code draft in particular, will be examined at a joint session of the chambers.

The preliminary agenda also contains the matter of ratification of the treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus on the coordination of activities in the military sphere and the draft parliamentary resolution on "the participation of the Russian Federation military contingent in the collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan." Measures are to be discussed on eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Siberian chemical combine in the town of Tomsk-7.

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 0700 GMT on 27 April adds the following: "It is also expected that during the work of the session a number of deputies will raise the issue of the self-dissolution of the supreme legislative body."]

Military Force for Tajikistan Approved

LD2704101893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0856 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has agreed to the allocation of a military contingent numbering up to 500 men (all volunteers) as a contribution to collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan.

Parliament adopted a resolution on this today after examining an appeal from the Russian President and a request from the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan. The Russian contingent will be part of collective forces, which will also include units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

During the debate on this question, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who was representing the Russian President, said that Tajikistan, as a republic of the former USSR, "cannot but be regarded as a zone of special responsibility and special interest for the Russian Federation." Over 200,000 Russian-speakers are currently living in the Republic, the minister said. Andrey Kozyrev recalled that other CIS countries had agreed in principle to send forces to Tajikistan at the January meeting of Commonwealth heads of state. This question is included on the agenda for tomorrow's meeting of CIS heads of government, and Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers, will be insisting on the implementation of the fundamental decision made by the CIS heads of state, Andrey Kozyrev noted.

Belarus Military Treaty Ratified

LD2704111193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1033 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The Russian Parliament at its bicameral meeting on Tuesday [27 April] ratified the treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus on the coordination of activity in the military area. The treaty was ratified by the Belarussian Parliament on February 4, 1993.

The creation of armed forces of countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States presupposes an absolutely new military-political situation in the territory of the former USSR. Coordination of the military activity between the armed forces of sovereign states on a multilateral and bilateral basis assumed special importance, General Boris Gromov, Russian deputy defence minister, said in his report.

Taking this into consideration, Russia conducts an active policy to create a fundamentally new legal basis which is in keeping with international norms and law and which regulates military contacts between these countries. When the treaty was being drafted, both sides were striving to create a streamlined document, considering in the utmost the interests of military security of both states, specific features of the structure of their armed forces in the transitional period and their ties in the military sphere.

Gromov pointed to the basic provisions of the treaty that will be determining the essence of the Russo-Belarussian contracts in the military area. He noted, specifically, that not one of the sides will be rendering military assistance to a third country or group of countries that staged an aggression against the other side. Not one of the sides will provide its territory for an armed attack or hostile actiivty against the other party to the treaty.

Russia and Belarus will continue the process of disarmament with taking into account the fact that Belarus joined the July 1, 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a nuclear-free state. There are three rocketry divisions with 81 launchers on the Belarusian territory, Gromov said. Russia has extended its jurisdiction to strategic forces temporarily stationed on the Belarusian territory.

Proceeding from the spirit and letter of the treaty, Russia and Belarus have agreed to conduct a coordinated military-technological policy in the area of the production of armaments and military equipment and supplying them to troops, armaments repair and providing various material means to troops, Gromov said.

"It is very important to ensure social and legal guarantees for servicemen and persons discharged from the forces when they move to the territory of the other contracting party", Gromov said.

Gromov said the treaty bespeaks of a high level of military- political confidence and mutual understanding between Russia and Belarus and about the level of their readiness for military cooperation.

Proceedings of 26 Apr Parliament Session Reported

Military Proposed for Crime Fighting

LD2604151393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium today examined a draft resolution on enlisting the use of units, subunits, and other formations of Russia's Armed Forces in ensuring law and order and for combatting crime. It was submitted by President Boris Yeltsin. An accompanying note from the president says this measure has been prompted by insufficient staffing levels in the Interior Ministry and by the dangerous and mass nature of crime in Moscow. The Presidium has submitted the document for revision to the standing commission of the chambers and committees of the Supreme Soviet.

Parliament's Dissolution Suggested

LD2604135693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Sergey Kovalev, Russian people's deputy and Supreme Soviet member, intends tomorrow to raise the issue of the self-dissolution of the parliament. He stated this today at a news conference by members of the parliamentary coalition for reforms.

According to preliminary figures cited to journalists by Deputy Sergey Yushenkov, a member of this coalition, in 35 regions in Russia more than 85 percent of the electorate took part in the referendum and almost 60 percent of them expressed confidence in the president. Less than 30 percent of those entitled to vote voted for early presidential elections, while almost 45 percent voted for new elections of people's deputies. This has been reported by RIA.

Media Committee Reorganization Proposed

LD2604094693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0745 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr—Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media, has proposed putting the question of reorganizing the committee on the agenda of the Supreme Soviet session. Speaking at the parliamentary Presidium session, he pointed out that the electronic media played an important role in the referendum results. He said that most committee members are refusing to carry out the decisions of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet and "want to turn the committee from a legislative body into a political get-together of Democratic Russia."

Presidium 26 Apr Session Proceedings Reported

PM2704103393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary Press Service report: "Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium was held in the House of Soviets 26 April under the chairmanship of Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Commission for Holding the All-Russian Referendum, delivered an information report on the preliminary results of the all-Russian referendum held 25 April 1993.

According to preliminary data, approximately 62 percent of the citizens who have the right to participate in voting took part in the referendum. Elections did not take place in Chechnya. Just 21 percent of the voters with the right to participate in the referendum came to the polling places in Tatarstan.

On the whole, Kazakov said, the referendum can be deemed to have taken place. No significant violations came to light in the course of voting. According to preliminary data, the majority of those who voted expressed confidence in the president.

Commenting on the preliminary voting results, Ruslan Khasbulatov urged people not to be seduced by the results of the referendum. "It will reveal neither winners nor losers but will merely split society. Whoever was pursuing this end has achieved it." The chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet described the referendum as a stage on the way to weakened statehood.

In accordance with parliamentary procedure, drafts of the following legislative acts have been sent for a ruling to standing commissions of the chambers, committees of the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Federation president, and other subjects of legislative initiative:

—the Russian Federation laws "On Confidential Management of Property"; "On Making Changes to the RSFSR Law 'On Foreign Investments in the RSFSR'"; "On Making Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Code of Administrative Offenses, the RSFSR Criminal Code, and the RSFSR Criminal Procedure Code"; "On the Budget of the Russian Federation Pension Fund for the Second Quarter of 1993";

—the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees "On the Main Areas of the Russian Federation's Social Policy for 1993 Submitted by the Russian Federation President"; "On Making a Change to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree 'On the Procedure for Bringing into Force the Russian Federation Law "On Military Service Obligation and Military Service" '"; "On the Rehabilitation of Russian Finns"; "On Making Changes and Additions to the Russian Federation Law 'On Education'"; "On Additional Measures To Ensure the Social Protection of Citizens Subjected to the Effects of Radiation as a Consequence of the Chernobyl Disaster."

After submission the Presidium sent the Treaty on the Fundamentals of Relations Between the Russian Federation and the Turkish Republic and also the Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and Mongolia for ratification by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Other questions of Russia's state life were also examined at the Presidium session.

Treaties' Ratification Sought

LD 2604111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1102 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova, Yuriy Filipov]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The Presidium of the Russian Parliament has submitted a treaty on fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and Turkey and a treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and Mongolia to be ratified by the Russian Parliament.

The Russo-Turkish treaty signed in Moscow on May 25, 1992, was approved by the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs of the Turkish Great National Assembly at the beginning of February and has been submitted to a plenary session of the parliament.

According to the treaty, the Russian Federation and Turkey regard each other as friendly states and are to build their relations on the basis of good-neighbourly relations, cooperation and mutual confidence.

The treaty with Mongolia, signed in Moscow on January 20, 1993, says that the two sides regard each other as friendly states and will build their relations guided by the principles of respect for sovereignty and independence, sovereign equality and the non-use of force or the threat of force.

Parliament Committee Chief Stapashin Interviewed

PM2304120593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committee on defense and security questions, by Oleg Odnokolenko; date and place of interview not given: "We Shall Not Allow the Army To Be Dragged into Political Confrontation"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security Questions, answers your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's questions.

[Odnokolenko] I realize that it is inappropriate for someone to speak of his work himself. Nonetheless, Sergey Vadimovich, try to sum up what the committee for defense and security questions has done during its existence.

[Stepashin] Assessing one's own work is always difficult. A more objective assessment could be given by those who are directly affected by parliament's activity. I have in mind the executive structures. And, of course, the most objective assessment is possible only after a certain amount of time has elapsed. But I shall try nonetheless.

Our committee is indeed unique and it seems to me that in the new parliament, instead of one committee there should be several committees, each of which would study separately the problems of intelligence, the security system, and the armed forces as is the custom in many parliaments of the world, for instance. So far we are having to cover all these avenues on our own. Of course, this volume of work leaves its mark and it is probably impossible to claim we are resolving all questions effectively.

Nonetheless I believe we have begun work on the right note. The first law which we adopted—incidentally, it had a very hard time getting through—was the law on security. Many people still underestimate it, but this law has already played a very important part and will continue to do so. And that includes the section which speaks of the security council. Of itself the idea to create under the Russian Federation president a collective organ which could elaborate domestic and foreign policy in a skilled way from the viewpoint of the problems of security seems very valuable. I believe that however the political situation may change in the country that organ will exist and this law will work.

Other laws have also been elaborated. Also for the first time in our parliamentary practice we have adopted a law on intelligence. Incidentally, apart from the United States and now Russia laws of this kind no longer exist in any other country.

[Odnokolenko] Was there a need for such a law?

[Stepashin] I think there was. Because that law legally regulates the activity of our intelligence organs. It is needed by intelligence agents and people against whom intelligence activity is in fact directed, in order to prevent the very flagrant violations which used to occur. You must remember that, for instance, the KGB first main directorate was involved in the overthrow of Amin in Afghanistan and there were cases of acts of political terrorism and so forth. All that is banned today. For the first time the law on intelligence has declared the possibility of monitoring by the president, prosecutor's office, and, most importantly, by the parliament, of the special services' activity.

A law on the security organs has also seen the light of day. Its emergence was also important because after August many hotheads, following the example of the East European countries, were calling for the KGB to be abolished immediately.

[Odnokolenko] But did you support that decision?

[Stepashin] I was in favor of the decision which was eventually proposed to the president and accepted—for a substantial reform of the security organs. And primarily of the KGB's fifth directorate which engaged in, let us say, ideological work. The law on operational investigation activity was adopted in the same package.

As for military questions we embarked on them somewhat later, after the Soviet Union and the unified armed forces had ceased to exist. We began by determining the priorities of military policy and there then appeared what in my view is a very important law—the law "on defense." It was followed by the law "on military service duty and military service," which now regulates the activity of all military service. We elaborated for the first time the ideology of contract service, which in the future

opens up the opportunity to transfer to staffing the armed forces on a voluntary basis. Right now preparation of general troop regulations is under way. We are now working in close contact with a group of Defense Ministry experts and we will obviously nonetheless create on set of regulations and not several, as was the case before.

[Odnokolenko] Is there just one set of general troop regulations in the U.S. Army too?

[Stepashin] Yes. In addition they have provisions regulating service in all branches of the armed forces.

But let us return to our affairs. The main thing in which we are engaged now is the preparation of the main aspects of military doctrine. And it is obvious the time has come for the Defense Ministry apparatus, the security council, and our committee's apparatus to embark on the elaboration of this document.

[Odnokolenko] And how in your view can the nature of the future doctrine be defined conceptually?

[Stepashin] It will obviously be a doctrine which determines the sphere of what is necessary for the defense of our country's independence. But I would not try to hurry events. After all, before examining what the doctrine will be like we must answer several questions. First of all we must reveal the sources of military danger. The president has stated that we have no external threat, but sources of very serious danger nonetheless remain. Then we must determine what the armed forces should be like, determine their structure, and so forth. But the main thing is that we must consider our state's economic potential.

[Odnokolenko] Just so. So do you believe that the military laws which have already been adopted are backed up economically? Many people doubt it...

[Stepashin] All laws from the "military package" are backed up economically this year. We have found the money, and the president and government supported us. Another problem is that not everything is being done locally. In some places there is direct sabotage, in some places inefficiency is being manifested, so it is important to keep track of how laws are being implemented.

Actually, it must be said objectively that it will obviously be very hard to implement the law on the status of servicemen as regards the provision of housing. I think that for instance the norm enshrined in the law to the effect that a serviceman cannot be released without being provided with housing is wish rather than reality. It is true that here we reached agreement with the defense minister and he promised that commanders of any rank will be very strictly sanctioned if even one officer without housing is released.

[Odnokolenko] As far as one can judge the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee committee for defense and security questions now has entirely constructive relations with the Defense Ministry. But previously, as you remember, mutual understanding was very hard to achieve.

[Stepashin] Indeed, initially our mutual relations were complex. When had some deputies entered the military department's holy of holies, and with laws of some kind, what is more? I realize that this had an irritating effect on some generals and officers. But after we had begun to work together on the laws, to go on trips to the troops together, we were seen as allies, and everything changed. And in general, to be honest I cannot understand why our committee and parliament have to be in opposition to the executive structures of power.

We are accused from the right and the left of the fact that the committee is too friendly with the Defense Ministry and too much at peace with the Security Ministry and the intelligence service. We will continue to live in peace and continue to work together as, incidentally, do the other parliamentary structures in their fields. And when people speak of the fierce confrontation between the Supreme Soviet and the government, it is probably more correct to talk primarily of the confrontation of the leaders.

[Odnokolenko] So is it only because you are not involved in confrontation that the committee is charged with let us say betraying parliamentary interests?

[Stepashin] To be honest, it is very unpleasant for me to hear this, especially as this statement was made to the leaders of all local organs of power. But I am not going to start a picket over the issue. It is entirely obvious that this assessment appeared precisely because the committee occupies a centrist position, which is what a defense committee should occupy. We stressed that yet again in our statement before the referendum, which stated clearly that we will not allow the army, the Russian Security Ministry, or the Ministry of Internal Affairs to be dragged into political quarrels. We insist on that.

Khasbulatov Confers With Russian Communities Activist

MK2404080093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 9

[Yevgeniy Yanayev report: "Ruslan Khasbulatov Ready To Defend Russians"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov received a Congress of Russian Communities delegation headed by Dmitriy Rogozin, chairman of the organization's executive committee. The Supreme Soviet chairman stated in the conversation that such important questions as deciding the future of ethnic Russians living on the former USSR's territory cannot be solved until the situation has been stabilized in Russia itself. An agreement was reached at the meeting to form

a standing working group, which will study the possibility of granting citizenship to the 25 million Russians living outside their historical homeland.

The Congress of Russian Communities delegation which met with the Supreme Soviet chairman yesterday included representatives of Russian national groups from Azerbaijan, Moldova, and the Dniester region. According to a statement by Congress leader Rogozin, his organization represents the interests of 25 million Russians who have ended up outside Russia against their will. In Rogozin's opinion, in the near future they should be granted Russian citizenship and given the opportunity to participate in the next presidential and people's deputies elections.

Responding to the Congress' proposals, Khasbulatov noted that the problem of Russians abroad cannot be solved while the present Russian authorities are taking ill-considered steps "like statements or the referendum." "When we are being rocked by referendums and statements, important state questions are pushed aside," he observed. In the speaker's opinion, the Russian leadership's policy and the Foreign Ministry's actions are hindering the former Union republics' integration, and integration would speed up the solution of the Russians' problem.

Congress leader Rogozin stated in turn that the Russians who have been left outside their historical homeland following the USSR's disintegration are sick and tired of the policy being pursued by Boris Yeltsin and Andrey Kozyrev, and that most of them have an extremely skeptical attitude toward the current president. He handed to Khasbulatov the draft of a new Russian Constitution approved by the Congress—in particular, it provides for the president's election by the supreme legislative organ—the Assembly of the Land. But for the time being the current Basic Law is in force, and if the Congress of Russian Communities manages to achieve its aim and 25 million Russians obtain the right to participate in the elections, Rogozin believes that this will substantially strengthen the position of the president's opponents. It was decided at the meeting to form a standing working group to collect information on the situation of Russians in the former USSR republics and to study the question of granting dual citizenship to the Russian population in CIS republics.

Media Chairman Rejects 'Political Censorship' Fears

PM2204102993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "Sword of Damocles of Censorship Still Hangs Over Television"]

[Text] A press conference by V. Lisin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media held in the White House on 20 April was devoted to legislative and other normative acts adopted at the Ninth Congress and their exercise on the eve of the referendum. O. Plotnikov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ad Hoc Commission on Television and Radio Broadcasting and one of the drafters of the Statute on the Federal Oversight Council for Freedom of Expression and the draft Law "On Additions and Amendments to the Law on the Mass Media," also took part. It is intended that they be adopted en bloc by 10 May.

Journalists expressed surprise at the fact that the Committee for the Mass Media was represented at the press conference solely by its chairman, to which V. Lisin responded: "This does not seem strange to me, as the other members of the commission [as published] hold a different viewpoint from me." He also said that he was not ready to draw definitive conclusions but that conclusions will clearly have to be drawn after 25 April—the parliamentary committee is, according to him, engaged in political games rather than its direct legislative functions. Thus the fate of the current Committee for the Mass Media is predetermined. It may well be abolished.

Answering a question about the function of the Federal Oversight Council, Plotnikov explained that the Supreme Council has still not examined the statute on the council, let alone the statute on regional oversight councils: "I do not recommend local soviets to be in a hurry to create them, because it is possible to really foul up here in the absence of a normative base."

Parliament's Federal Oversight Council will consist of one representative of each of the 14 factions. This, in his opinion, will enable the Federal Oversight Council to reflect the whole political spectrum and the opinion of the parliamentary majority. According to Plotnikov, it will be a completely independent agency relating to the Fourth Estate, although there is no clear-cut definition of its affiliation. The Federal Oversight Council's independence as an autonomous legal entity will be based on its autonomous financing.

The Federal Oversight Council's remit is the monitoring of state radio and television programs which have already been broadcast and the analysis of information policy, but... "in an advisory, legal capacity." Monitoring of programs prior to transmission is not allowed. The Federal Oversight Council has the right to appoint and dismiss the leaders of state television and radio companies. It is not surprising that their current leadership is, as Plotnikov put it, giving this innovation a hostile reception.

The measures to safeguard freedom of expression envisaged by the Ninth Congress and which are currently being given flesh by parliament did not generate approval among the journalists in attendance: The issue of the restoration of political censorship was the one most frequently raised. To which Lisin replied: What is involved here is not political censorship but a balance between the influence of the executive and legislative branches of power on the state mass media.

Regional Affairs

Dudayev Urges Chechen Parliament To Help Stabilize Situation

LD2604134993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Chechen President Dudayev has called on members of the republic's parliament to help stabilize the situation in the country. He said that he is in full control of the situation in the republic, and will not permit any acts of provocation.

According to ITAR-TASS, rallies of opponents and supporters of the president are continuing in Groznyy, the Chechen capital.

Opposes 5 Jun Referendum

LD2704085493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] General Dzhokhar Dudayev has appealed to Chechnya's Parliament to unite society so as to achieve the stabilization of the situation in the republic. This appeal is regarded by local observers as serious evidence of the fact that Dzhokhar Dudayev is prepared to agree to compromises. He stated in particular that he is agreeable to political reforms within the framework of the holding of a referendum on a new constitution. At the same time Dzhokhar Dudayev has spoken out against the nationwide referendum on confidence in himself and the form of state management. As is known, Chechnya's legislators have decided to hold a 5 June referendum on confidence in parliament and the president, and on the institution of the presidency in the republic.

Shakhray, Abdulatipov Urge 'Neutrality' Concerning Chechnya

MK2304131693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 10

[Oleg Medvedev report: "Moscow Opts Against 'Political Preferences' in the Chechen Republic"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the Chechen parliament considered holding early parliamentary elections and a referendum on confidence in the republic's president. President Dzhokhar Dudayev, who signed an edict suspending the parliament's activity last Saturday, decided to ask the Congress of the Chechen People to resolve his dispute with the legislative branch. The congress is scheduled to open today. Meanwhile, the federal authorities expressed their intention to refrain from intervention in the events in Chechnya. [passage omitted]

Those who reacted to the events in Chechnya were Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities. In Mr. Abdulatipov's view, peacekeeping steps, if taken by federal authorities, "may be misconstrued." According to Sergey Shakhray, the only line of conduct possible for the federal authorities is maintaining contacts with the parliament and the president. "We should not make political preferences that would stir up passions," he said. Both politicians have effectively argued for neutrality. Moscow's nonintervention in the Chechen events and its failure to give a legal opinion on them may be interpreted as amounting to a virtual recognition of this republic's independence, but given the lessons of the recent past in relations with Chechnya, given the current situation and actual capacities of the federal authorities, the line of conduct they have chosen appears entirely reasonable. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report on developments in the situation in Chechnya tomorrow.

Voronezh Conference Appeals to Chechnya on 'Explosive Situation'

PM2304135993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

["Appeal to the People, Political Parties, and National Organizations and Movements of the Chechen Republic" dated Voronezh, 20 April, and signed by participants in conference of leaders of Russian Federation soviets]

[Text] We leaders of Russian Federation soviets of people's deputies are extremely concerned at the dangerously explosive situation in the Chechen Republic.

The dissolution of parliament announced by President Dudayev is an attempt to usurp power and to abandon consitutional legality entirely. President Dudayev's organization of illegal armed formations should be regarded as a step on the way to establishing a one-man dictatorship. All this is sharply destabilizing the socioeconomic situation in the North Caucasus region and undermining the system of the Russian Federation's state structure.

Very complex social, economic, and ethnic problems cannot be resolved by violence and by threats with weapons. What is needed is a patient quest for mutually acceptable solutions around the negotiating table and a peaceful, legal path.

We support the efforts of the republic's people and legitimate authorities to restore constitutional norms, and we reject all threats to use force in resolving the conflict. We beg the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Government to display the maximum caution and to prevent extremists from using the factor of "interference by the center," which the Dudayev regime is using to deceive the republic's people.

We appeal to the republic's public organizations and movements, elders, clergy, women, and young people: Remember your good traditions, which have been tested over the centuries, and display the characteristic wisdom

of the peoples of the Caucasus, calmness, restraint, and determination to defend the people's freedom against self-styled rulers.

A bloody civil war, which will bring incalculable misfortunes and suffering to the population of the Chechen Republic, cannot be allowed to get under way there. Common sense, legality, and love of peace must triumph both in the Chechen Republic and throughout the Russian Federation.

[Signed] Participants in the conference of leaders of Russian Federation soviets of people's deputies

[Dated] Voronezh, 20 April 1993

Article Examines Polarization in Chechnya

934F0503C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Maryukha: "The Court Made a Ruling. Who Is Going To Carry Out the 'Sentence?': Political Confrontation in Chechnya Has Reached a Critical Mark"]

[Text] Late Monday night the Chechen Constitutional Court found President Dudayev's edicts disbanding the parliament and introducing presidential rule in the republic unconstitutional. This enables the parliamentary majority, which has accused the president of attempting a state coup and establishing a personal dictatorship, to start preparations for impeachment procedures. While this process moves along the constitutional path, however, the political masses, according to reports from Groznyy, have already drawn a line—at this point not firing yet—between the Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters and opponents.

There are two permanent rallies being held in the capital of Chechnya. At Theater Square is the opposition, supported by the municipal police and the armed home guard from Chechen "provinces." At Freedom Square the president's supporters have secured the support of the national guard and the presidential special units. The MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the national security service, and Chechnya's military units so far adhere to the neutrality they had proclaimed. Both sides in the conflict do not preclude an armed clash, but at this point would rather not plunge the republic into a civil war. In other words, the weapons are ready to talk before the voice of reason does.

Both Dudayev's supporters and opponents see a way out in turning to the people, but certainly not with consolidating ideas. The opposition rally sent agitators to the republic's enterprises and organizations calling for civil disobedience. The president's supporters intend to convene a congress of the Chechen people, whose delegates in the past had already showed support for Dudayev. In either case, one cannot preclude the possibility of the republic's population splitting into two warring camps.

Mordovian President Dismisses Officials

LD2304174293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Mordovian President Vasiliy Guslyannikov, who continues to head the government in the republic, has employed sanctions against members of his Cabinet. A number of officials have been dismissed from their ministerial and other posts. They are the people who consented to join a new organ of supreme executive power, the Council of Ministers of the republic's government, formed after the president had been suspended from his post by the Mordovian parliament. The presidential government continues to function with a reduced membership.

Mordovian Officials Attempt To Close President's Offices

LD2604131193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] The parallel government formed last week by the Mordovian parliament today took steps to curb presidential activity. At 0500, a group of officials started sealing the offices in the residence of the president of the republic. The attempt was thwarted, according to ITAR-TASS.

Meanwhile, the government of Mordovia, in accordance with a decree by Boris Yeltsin, is continuing to funtion.

St. Petersburg's Sobchak Condemns Khasbulatov's Speech

LD2604222193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1604 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 26 Apr—"The statement by the parliament's speaker is staggering in its tone, conclusion, and arguments," an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak commenting on the speech by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman at the presidium session. "The main thing in it is the suprising contempt for the people and their will. The final results of the referendum have not yet been summed up but the positive results are already visible, yet Khasbulatov states that the referendum has led to the division of society."

We have not noticed this, A. Sobchak said, since Peterburgers went to the voting like a holiday with greater activity than at previous elections. It is probable that some people want very much for society to split and they cannot understand that there is no ground for neo-Bolsheviks and that the people have once again rejected the communists' claim to power. Maybe it is precisely this that irritates our speaker.

Also staggering are the words of the Supreme Soviet head that in another three days the situation would have

broken, A. Sobchak considered. Who does he take Russians for, thinking that they would change their opinions dramatically in three days. This is contempt for people from parliamentarians who have gone too far believing that they can dictate anything they like to the people. Sobchak supposes that the will of the president and the position of local bodies of power will be opposed to any attempts by parliament to once again limit freedom of speech and glasnost. In such a situation when the people have supported the president's position and not the Congress of People's Deputies, Sobchak considers, the parliament and his speaker must resign and, if they want, prepare for new elections.

Situation at N. Ossetian-Ingush Border Deteriorates

LD2604131693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0935 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 26 Apr—The situation on the border of North Ossetia and Ingushetia has markedly deteriorated. This is linked to the fact that the number of cases of gunfire, attacks on civilians and servicemen, and the taking of hostages has increased here over recent days.

According to information from North Ossetia's security council, near the Ossetian settlement of Khurikau in Mozdok Rayon, a State Motor Vehicle Inspection post of Russia's Interior Ministry came under fire last night. The duty militia returned fire as a result of which the Ingush attackers were forced to give themselves up. A large-caliber machine gun, automatic weapons, a pistol, and hundreds of rounds of ammunition were confiscated from them. The bandits were taken to the headquarters of the Russian Interior Ministry by helicopter.

Two bodies of Ossetians with multiple bullet wounds were discovered in a forest area of Khurikau the same night. Over the past 24 hours, the republic's Interior Ministry reported, 12 crimes and incidents were recorded in the region. Six people were detained for administrative offenses, and around 2,000 cars have been examined. Seven rifles were taken from local inhabitants.

In connection with the complex situation in the area of armed conflict, North Ossetia's security council held a session today in Vladikavkaz. The situation in the region was examined, as were further ways for stabilizing it.

Further on Grachev's Far East Military Tour

PM2304132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Ponomarev report: "Pavel Grachev: Army Keeping to Center"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—The motorized rifle regiment in the village of Krasnaya Rechka, not far from Khabarovsk, has seen quite a few important visitors: from Brezhnev to Gorbachev. But this model unit greeted Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defense, with an innovation. Not so long ago it made the switch to a new organization and establishment whereby, instead of three battalions which exist more on paper, one is created which is manned entirely by personnel. One full-fledged company is formed out of three, while a smaller number of battleworthy subunits are brought up to strength out of several platoons with truncated personnel.

In the opinion of Colonel General V. Chechevatov, commander of the Far East Military District—an opinion also shared by the minister of defense—under conditions of the now chronic shortage of soldiers serving the compulsory term of service, this form of reorganization enables units and subunits to tackle full-blooded military training.

One way or another, Grachev's entire trip to the Pacific Fleet and the Far East, Transbaykal, Siberian, and Ural Military Districts is essentially connected with the situation which has been taking shape in the army since the president's recent edict on the draft for active military service and transfer to the reserve. Talking with soldiers in Khabarovsk, Grachev encouraged them to conclude contracts.

But, as the defense minister himself admits, a switch to a contract system will not resolve all problems. "Unless in the very near future the Supreme Soviet adopts amendments to the law on drafting into the army all citizens of Russia up to the age of 25 years, regardless of their education, it will be necessary to reduce a tremendous number of military units and large strategic formations—which is very undesirable for such a great power as Russia," Grachev pointed out.

By analogy with the trips by other members of the government, who on the eve of the referendum have taken to visiting remote parts of Russia, appearing in something like the role of Santa Claus, it would be logical to assume that the defense minister is also tempted to engage in charitable propaganda. Grachev's marked aloofness from any political statements is noteworthy, however. "When people ask me: 'Who is the army with?' I ask a counter question: 'What, are we in a state of civil war then?'" This is how the defense minister formulated his position. The idea that "the army keeps to the center, deviating neither to the right or to the left" was heard both during Grachev's conversation with the district commander and at a meeting with staff officers of the Far East Military District.

Hardly anyone, however, has any illusions about the reassuring "army outside politics" formula. As a state structure, maybe; but as a community of people experiencing the same and even greater burdens of life today, this is highly doubtful.

As regards the situation on Russkiy Island, which, in fact, is what prompted Grachev to come to the Far East, in the defense minister's opinion it is gradually being normalized.

Comments on Pacific Fleet, Combat Training

LD2304225593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By correspondent Mikhail Svetlichnyy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A working visit by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to Siberia and the Far East has lasted for four days. In Vladivostok, he acquainted himself with the situation in the Pacific Fleet. The situation is particularly difficult there at present: ships are out of action due to lack of spare parts, there are serious problems with the financing, there is a shortage of sailors on ships and officers' life is not easy. About 5,000 people in the fleet do not have accommodation at present. Both the Fleet and the armed forces in general are trying to survive. The minister acquainted himself with the situation in units and sub-units and assessed the level of combat readiness in Khabarovsk, where the staff of Far Eastern Military District, the largest in Russia, is situated, in the Trans-Baykal Military District, in Chita and Novosibirsk.

In his own words, the army in Russia has not been involved in combat training for the last three years.

By 1995, 370,000 officers and ensigns are to be transferred to the reserve. However, the minister promised that there would be a rush there, even if this process took two more years. Assessing what he saw during his trip, before departure from Novosibirsk today Pavel Grachev said:

[Begin Grachev recording] There are two main and painful issues at present that I will have to tackle in Moscow at the level of government, the Supreme Soviet, and the president. The first issue is providing accommodation in all regions. And the second issue—the army will simply not be able to exist and can even die in the future if it is not resolved—is the fact that if the law on universal military service doesn't begin to operate and the postponements that exist at the moment are not abolished, the armed forces might be brought up only to 20-25 percent of their strength in the autumn. [end recording]

Completes Tour, Returns to Moscow

PM2604155593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts and Aleksandr Veklich report: "Troops Withdrawn from Abroad Should Not Be Done Out of Their Share"]

[Text] The Russian Federation defense minister's tour of garrisons in the Far East and Siberia has finished.

Arriving in the Siberian Military District 23 April, Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, continued his work among the troops. He visited a combat engineers brigade under the command of Colonel Anatoliy Beznogov stationed near Novosibirsk.

The defense minister's interest in this particular military unit was not fortuitous. The fact is that a year ago the brigade was redeployed to the Siberian Military District from Germany. They had to make themselves feel at home, as we say, from scratch. There are many such military units in the district. In 1990-1992 alone, the district accepted around 100 combined units and units from nearby foreign parts and abroad. This process is still going on now. The transfer of a further 54 military collectives is envisaged before 1995. As Colonel General Viktor Kopylov, commander of the Siberian Military District, reported to the defense minister, his main task is to not leave a single officer's family without a roof over its head, and to create normal working and living conditions.

Army Gen. Pavel Grachev emphasized that effective ways of resolving this important question had been successfully found in the military district. There is a lively building program for housing in progress. Last year's plan has been overfulfilled. Apart from this, the command is using the housing funds released in the course of the district's reorganization. Close cooperation with the region's local administration has been organized. It is remarkable, the defense minister noted, that thanks to the way the troops have been provided for in the Siberian Military District, levels of combat readiness and of ordinary soldiers' and officers' personal training have not declined in particular. For example a combat engineers brigade—which had been withdrawn from abroad and of which 80 percent are young ordinary soldiers—has been successfully trained in the shortest possible time to carry out practical combat training tasks. After two months of active training, 70 percent of the personnel here became high-class specialists.

The Russian Federation defense minister made a special statement in an ITAR-TASS report published in PRAVDA, quoting the Russian General Prosecutor's Office, about alleged abuses by Russian Armed Forces general and flag officers and in particular by the minister himself. He regarded these statements to be a political act aimed at discrediting the Armed Forces on the eve of the referendum, and an attempt to drag them into politics. "The incidences of abuse which the report mentions are well-known, and, what is more, were exposed with the direct participation of the Western Group of Forces command and the Ministry of Defense leadership. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in the established manner in connection with them and are now in progress." "There can be no question of there being any new incidents to which the report makes reference," Pavel Grachev emphasized.

Completing his work in the military districts of the Far Eastern and Siberian regions, and in the Pacific Fleet,

Pavel Grachev emphasized that, on the eve of the all-Russian referendum, attacks against the Russian Armed Forces which are aimed at discrediting them, had increased in frequency, which is evidence of the continuing attempts to draw them into the political struggle. Having examined the situation in the provinces, the defense minister satisfied himself that the troops are maintaining the necessary level of combat readiness and are completely under control. Their general state can be considered to be satisfactory. There are, of course, problems and all officials should work on their resolution now.

At the headquarters of the Siberian Military District the army general conferred the rank of lieutenant general on Stanislav Storublev, Yuriy Dutov, and Nikolay Loktionov.

The defense minister returned to Moscow 23 April.

Karelia Supreme Soviet Chairman on Post-Referendum Tasks

LD2704091793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer Vladimir Baburin] Our Petrozavodsk correspondent Igor Ilin explains the point of view of the Republic of Karelia Supreme Soviet chairman, whom he met immediately after the preliminary results of the referendum had been announced.

[Ilin] In the view of Karelia Supreme Soviet Chairman Viktor Stepanov, the referendum, irrespective of its results, will not create a constructive basis for getting out of the economic and political crises. The main issue today is what is to be done further. According to Karelia's Supreme Soviet chairman, today it is, in the first place, necessary to choose at last a definitive method of building the constitution: either reforming the existing one or creating a new one. However, the creation of a new one, in his view, is more dangerous for Russia's integrity, as some subjects of the Federation might not support it.

The second thing which is necessary today is to reform the organs of power to which end a transition stage is to be determined and the Congress is to be reformed reserving for it the adoption of the Constitution, personnel matters, the discussion of the president's annual message to parliament, and of the social spheres which are subject to rendering returns. All the rest is to be handed over to the chambers as they appear in the new constitution.

By precisely demarcating powers and provisionally keeping the Congress, we could gain experience of the work of a bicameral parliament, Stepanov believes, and if need be, after a year, introduce corrections into the constitutional law which afterwards is to be registered as the constitution. In Stepanov's view, the main issue of Russia's political development is the preservation of its integrity and, on the other hand, fleshing out the Federation Treaty with real content.

Interview With Ingushetian President Aushev

LD2504104093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0725 GMT 25 Apr 93

["Exclusive" interview with Ingushetian President Ruslan Aushev by unidentified correspondent from the "Military Review" program; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] How are relations now with the Russian troops who are in Ingushetia?

[Aushev] Relations are normal. Sometimes there are disagreements. For example, yesterday Vesti reported a powerful explosion on the territory of a sub-unit stationed in Nazran. I know what happened. So, I phoned Poptsov and asked him why they were broadcasting unconfirmed reports. What is happening? Well, among the personnel there are also people who want to excite this situation. An imaginery opponent is devised. Ammunition is shot. And this was not a powerful explosive, but a noise grenade. It is used by special engineers. It explodes. It creates the appearance of shooting by, say, Ingush fighters. Fire is returned, ammunition is distributed—and the majority of it is sold. That is the whole problem. [passage omitted]

The most important problem is that if events do not go off corectly, if the reasons for the conflict are not correctly evaluated, if an assessment is not given of the instigators at all levels of this conflict then it may be repeated.

[Correspondent] So it is just as it was when I last spoke to you: there is no assessment, no specific people responsible for this are found, and now the situation is the same.

[Aushev] The same, but I understand that there are difficulties in the investigating. There has been enough time to name someone, and I am afraid that again they will find a fall guy at the level of those who were shooting or at the level of those who burned things; but they are only the implementers not the main instigators of these actions

[Correspondent] Where are these forces? In Russia?

[Aushev] This is all Russian territory. In Russia, locally ...

[Correspondent, interrupting] I mean the center.

[Aushev] The leadership, yes. Officials in the center. Who can use troops against civilians? Someone gave the command. A soldier or officer cannot just go off shooting. It is civilians who are being shot. Civilian villages are being shot at. The troops are shooting today—why are they shooting? Because they were given the command. They were given the command and began

to shoot. A mechanism must be found. If the Russian leadership does not find a mechanism of coping with these figureheads because of whom people kill, shoot, and burn, then it will be repeated. If not in this region, then in another.

Military Experts See War Possible in North Caucasus

MK2304120293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 10, 23 Apr 93 p 2 (Signed to Press 22 Apr)

[Compiled from POSTFACTUM reports under the rubric: "PF Caucasus": "North Caucasus Military District Experts on Possibility of New Caucasus War"]

[Text] According to experts from the North Caucasus Military District, nationalist movements in the North Caucasus may attempt to come to power soon.

An attempt is not ruled out—with the help of armed forces of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus, in particular the Adyge nationalist movement Adyge-Khase—to create a Great Adygeia to be formed by Abkhazia, Kabarda, Adygeia, Cherkessia, and stateless peoples (the Shapsugs, Abazins.) Experts suppose that the federation will lay claim to the entire territory of the historical settlement of Adyge peoples as far afield as the Kuban, inclusive of Russia's Black Sea littoral.

The popularity of the pro-Russian leadership in Kabardino- Balkaria is extremely low at present. As for the Russian Government, the report notes, its attention is being diverted by even "hotter" situations in Chechnya, Ingushetia, and Ossetia.

North Caucasus Military District experts believe that in order to defuse the growing tension in the region, it is necessary to recognize the Adyges as a nation that was subjected to genocide, and to restore the lands beyond the Kuban to members of the Adyge diaspora. In which case "Great Adygeia" will remain under Russia's control, and will promote the unification of Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, and South Ossetia, as well as the Turkic peoples of the North Caucasus.

International Affairs

Tarasyuk Views Country's Nuclear Stance

AU2704085193 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 24 Apr 93 p 5

[Interview with Borys Ivanovych Tarasyuk, deputy minister of foreign affairs, by Oleh Oliynyk; place and date not given: "Nuclear Weapons as an Irritation Factor"]

[Text] Over the last week or two, Ukraine and Russia have exchanged statements, at various levels, on strategic nuclear weapons, statements that may be looked upon as signs of growing tension in interstate relations. Such notions as "ultimatum, pressure, violation of agreements, blackmail, and intimidation..." abound in the statements.

Does the situation regarding nuclear weapons in Ukraine really require extraordinary measures to be taken or are certain circles simply interested in causing a deterioration in relations? The URYADOVYY KURYER editorial board turned to Borys Tarasyuk, deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the National Committee for Questions of Disarmament, to comment upon the recent events.

[Tarasyuk] This exchange of statements and speeches may, at face value, look quite serious. However, here, it is also necessary to see who is causing tension and why. Of course, Ukraine has many problems. Russia also has no less if no more of them, but while Ukraine focuses its attention on resolving its internal problems and on developing its institutions of an independent state, Russia finds time for making accusations against us.

We are now obviously dealing with yet another stage of implementing the policy of "special responsibility" for the events that are taking place on the territory of the former Union, a policy that has been adopted by Russia. We are witnessing a consistent implementation of such a concept: These are questions of USSR's assets and debts, the division of the Black Sea Fleet, and territorial claims upon Ukraine. Speaking of the more specific reasons for the outbreak in the exchange of statements, in my opinion, first, Russia insists on changing the status of strategic offensive weapons that are located on our territory and strives to place them under its own jurisdiction; second, Russia wants to deprive Ukraine of its confirmed right to keep the components of the nuclear weapons—both strategic and tactical, that were transferred to Russia last year.

Ukraine cannot agree to altering the status of strategic offensive weapons on its own territory, because this status was specified by heads of four nuclear states—former USSR republics: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine—in the Minsk agreement of 30 December 1991. Russia was the first to decide to change this status last fall, having subordinated strategic weapons to the "strategic missile troops" of the Russian Federation. After this, Russia succeeded in imposing such a status on Belarus. It is now Ukraine's turn.

Ukraine insists that these weapons should remain under the operational control of the joint command of the CIS Strategic Forces. Ukraine responded to Russia's unilateral actions in autumn 1992 by instituting administrative subordination of the strategic weapons on its territory to Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, something that does not contradict accords within the framework of the CIS or regulations of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to which Ukraine is not yet a signatory.

Ukraine insisted and continues to insist that it must have a right to a compensation for the components of the nuclear weapons. What is meant is highly enriched uranium that may be used as fuel at atomic electric power plants and valuable metals. We are declaring our economic interests and not about our intention to possess weapons as such.

The Russian side also accuses the Ukrainian side of allegedly not allowing specialists to take care of these weapons, as a result of which the level of safety at nuclear missile complexes has markedly deteriorated. This is not borne out in reality. It was precisely Ukraine that proposed, one year ago, that an agreement be signed on servicing these complexes. These questions were not resolved and are increasingly becoming a matter for speculation, so that Ukraine suggested holding full-scale negotiations in November 1992. It was not until the middle of January 1993 that we received an affirmative reply from Russia. Two rounds of negotiations have already been held. In order to rule out any bias or speculations regarding nuclear safety, Ukraine's Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs, in their statement on 31 March 1993, offered to the Russian side to consider the possibility of inviting an authoritative international commission. To this day, we have not received any answer. It appears that such a variant does not fit the plan for disinformation, whose implementation we are now witnessing.

[Oliynyk] President L. Kravchuk proposed that the discussion of the problem of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine be held at prime ministerial level. Is there any progress here?

[Tarasyuk] There is still no reply. Anyway, we still hope to receive it.

[Oliynyk] An opinion has lately prevailed among some specialists in the sphere of international law to the effect that Ukraine does not yet, in fact, have any juridical obligations before the world community regarding its nuclear status and that even particular statements of the Declaration of Ukraine's State Sovereignty or the signing of some international agreements are not yet legal acts. Well, does Ukraine still remain free in its choice or has the situation already been specified in advance?

[Tarasyuk] Ukraine is not yet a signatory to either START-1, or the Lisbon Protocol, or the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. That is why there are no grounds for stating that Ukraine is violating its obligations. However, there are other questions. These are questions

of our own principles of external and internal policy. They were specified in the Declaration of State Sovereignty that was adopted on 16 July 1991. It was, for the first time, declared that Ukraine intends to become a nuclear-free state and to adhere to three nonnuclear principles. This document has determined, for many years ahead, the trends of the building of the Ukrainian state.

It was precisely Ukraine that advanced in April 1992, at the conference of ministers of foreign affairs of four nuclear states—former USSR republics—the idea of an international document that would provide a legal foundation for an equal participation of these states in the START Treaty. As a result, the Lisbon Protocol was elaborated and signed on 23 May 1992, and Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and the United States are its signatories. It is this document that gives the Ukrainian parliament the right to ratify the START Treaty and that attests, to the fact, recognized by the United States and Russia, that Ukraine is an equal successor to the former Union.

[Oliynyk] Borys Ivanovych, do the positions maintained by Russia and by the United States in their attitude toward the problem of nuclear weapons in Ukraine coincide on many points or do they differ?

In my personal opinion, the United States is mostly interested in raising the level of its security, because the overwhelming majority of strategic nuclear weapons located on the territory of the former USSR, including Ukraine, used to be aimed precisely at U.S. facilities. Very few people know at what exactly they are aimed, but there is no doubt that they are aimed at the United States. It is understandable why Americans show such a concern about the given question. Besides, some states, members of the nuclear club, that have the status of permanent members of the UN Security Council, something that places upon them particular responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, are in no hurry to change the existing geopolitical structure. If new nuclear powers emerge, the question arises of their status in world policy. However, in accordance with the past rules, nuclear states are permanent members of the Security Council, but here all seats have already been occupied.

[Oliynyk] However, in the main directions of our state's external policy, Russia is regarded as a strategic partner in the east.

[Tarasyuk] Ukraine has declared its intention not to join any military alliances. For that reason, we have not joined the Tashkent agreement on collective security and are not negotiating joining NATO. At the same time, we do not rule out the broad development of cooperation with international military and political organizations, including the Joint Command of the CIS Strategic Forces. Ukraine is interested in the development of mutually advantageous partnership relations on a bilateral basis with all states, primarily with its neighbors. They have priority in our external policy.

Moldovan Parliamentary Delegation Visits, Meets Kravchuk

LD2404171593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 24 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Tamara Kucherenko]

[Text] The agenda for a delegation visit from the Moldovan parliament to Ukraine was extremely intense. Our southern neighbors were able to meet top officials of the Ukrainian state during their two-day working visit.

They met with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on 23 April. Upon receiving the guests, the president noted that it is well understood in Ukraine what a complicated time we are living and working in. At the same time, noted Leonid Kravchuk, our links are distinguished by considerable activity. A strong basis for these mutual actions exists. It is based on the historical, economic, and spiritual links of our peoples of old. I am very pleased, the president said, to meet with friends. Today, above all, cooperation between our countries needs to be put on a realistic basis. We also need to remove some misunderstandings which have existed between us even up to the present day.

The Moldovan parliament delegation held a news conference right after the meeting with the president. One of the first questions was about Moldovans residing in Ukraine, in Chernovtsy and Odessa Oblasts, and whether these Moldovans have experienced some kind of discrimination on the part of Ukraine. Moldovan parliament speaker Petru Lucinschi said that problems really do exist but that one cannot speak about any kind of discrimination against Moldovans here. Mr. Lucinschi said: We cannot in any way speak about some kind of political aspect in this problem. In as far as it has happened, said Mr. Lucinschi, that some of our compatriots have stayed in Ukraine, and that there are some Ukrainians in Moldova, then conditions should be created for the Moldovans and Romanians who previously lived on the territory of Bessarabia and are now in Odessa and Chernovtsy Oblasts.

As far as the conditions in which Ukrainians in Moldova are living are concerned, the chairman of the Moldovan parliament assured journalists that they want Ukrainians who are residing in Moldova at the moment to enjoy all conditions for their development. Mr. Lucinschi gave these examples in particular: More than 600,000 Ukrainians are currently residing in Moldova, and this is the largest percentage of inhabitants after Moldovans.

Mr. Lucinschi assured us that an overall program has been elaborated in Moldova for a gradual (?change to the) Ukrainian language for the instruction and education of children in preschool establishments and schools

in all areas densely populated by Ukrainians. Incidentally, the Ukrainian Lesya Ukrayinka library has been opened in Chisinau, Moldova's capital. The library's work helps to propagate the spiritual values of the Ukrainian people and to revive Ukrainian language, traditions, and culture.

As far as cooperation between Ukraine and Moldova is concerned, the chairman of the Moldovan parliament also noted at the news conference that they see the development of our links in the context of the development of all of Europe, where borders between states have in fact become symbolic.

Mr. Lucinschi expressed the hope that Ukraine's parliament would in the near future ratify the treaty on friendship and cooperation that was signed by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur. Mr. Lucinschi noted that our peoples can work together in the financial, banking, commercial, and agricultural spheres, as well as in the sphere of culture. May the economies benefit from this cooperation, noted the speaker of the Moldovan parliament, and the peoples of both Ukraine and Moldova.

National Affairs

Cabinet Decrees Ways To Use Military-Industrial Potential

AU2304174193 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 22 Apr 93 p 13

["Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Decree No. 229 on Utilizing the Scientific-Technological and Production Potential of the Military-Industrial Complex for Developing the Economy" issued in Kiev on 25 March]

[Text] To effectively use the scientific-technological and production potential of the military-industrial complex for technological reequipment and restructuring of branches of the national economy on the basis of purpose-oriented scientific-technological programs, to achieve an increase in manufacturing means of production and consumer goods, and to ensure the country's defense capability, Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers decrees as follows:

1. To approve trends that have been developed by the Ministry of Machine Building, Military-Industrial Complex, and Conversion by the Ministry of the Economy and Ministry of Finance for utilizing the potential of enterprises and organizations of machine building and defense industry in resolving priority tasks aimed at developing the economy on the basis of comprehensive purpose-oriented scientific and technical programs.

The Ministry of the Economy, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Machine Building, Military-Industrial Complex, and Conversion must specify, in the formation of their annual indicative plans (forecasts) and their state budgets, sources and limits for financing measures associated with the conversion of military production, taking into account the military doctrine, vitally important economic needs, and availability of financial and material resources.

2. The Ministry of the Economy, Ministry of Finance, and State Committee for Material Resources must submit to Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers by 1 April 1993, in accordance with the established procedure, proposals on the volumes of production and deliveries in 1993 of weapons, military and special machinery for the needs of the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Service and the National Guard, and the State Committee for the Defense of the State Border in accordance with state contracts.

3. To agree with the proposals by the Ministry of Machine Building, Military-Industrial Complex, and Conversion and other ministries and departments that new and particularly important machine building products be manufactured at enterprises of the former ministry to satisfy in 1993 the needs of priority branches of the economy and that the financing of the development and preparation of the production of these products be made in accordance with supplements No. 1 and 2 within the limits of the state budget and credit line of the National Bank.

To allow the Ministry of Machine Building, Military-Industrial Complex, and Conversion, if necessary, to amend, in coordination with the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of the Economy, the volumes of financing individual purpose-oriented programs within the limits of the capital allocated for the purpose.

4. The Ministry of Machine Building, Military-Industrial Complex, and Conversion and the Ministry of Defense must prepare within one month proposals on the level of mobilization capacities of the defense complex and machine building enterprises for a specified period.

L. Kuchma, Ukraine's prime minister

I. Yemets, deputy minister of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers

Kravchuk Decree on Nationality, Migration Ministry

LD2704102793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1910 GMT 26 Apr 93

["Decree of the president of Ukraine on the Ministry of Ukraine for Issues of Nationality and Migration for the purpose of further perfecting work in the sphere of international relations and migratory processes"—UKRINFORM headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—I resolve to:

1. Form the Ministry of Ukraine for Issues of Nationality and Migration on the basis of the committee for issues of nationality under Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers.

In connection with this, add the words "Ministry of Ukraine for Issues of Nationality and Migration" after the words "Ministry of Machine Building, the Military Industrial Complex and Conversion of Ukraine" to part 1 of clause 5 of the Ukrainian president's decree of 25 February 1992, No. 98 "On changes to the system of central bodies of Ukraine's state executive powers (No. 566 in the wording of the Ukrainian president's decree of 13 November 1992)

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is to approve in a period of one month the resolution on Ukraine's Ministry for Issues of Nationality and Migration.

[Signed] President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk

Kazakhstan

U.S. Delegation Tours Nuclear Sites

LD2304165193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1516 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Yelena Poluyanova for TASS]

[Text] Almaty April 23 TASS—The disintegration of the former Soviet Union has created an unprecedented situation—the treat of a global nuclear conflict has disappeared, but a danger of proliferation of mass destruction weapons and nuclear technologies from former Soviet republics occurred, U.S. Undersecretary of State adviser Michael H. Newlin told a news conference at the U.S. Embassy in Kazakhstan today.

Newlin heads a U.S. delegation, currently here on a working visit.

In his opinion, the previous tough control system has disappeared. Both the U.S. and Kazakh sides are interested in the creation of a new control system.

The official stressed the similarity of U.S. and Kazakh conditions, including the availability of uranium and well- developed chemical industry, enables the Kazakh use of the U.S. experience in the issue. The implementation of a U.S.-proposed program has begun to include the making of lists of materials liable for control, the establishment of procedure of licensing and departments to supervise licensing, the creation of a computer system and training of customs officers.

Although the program implementation will take much time, the huge demand of the international black market for nuclear, chemical and biological arms and ballistic missiles proves its necessity, stressed Newlin.

The delegation, which arrived in Kazakhstan at the invitation of the republican government, has had consultations with representatives of various republican departments to discuss the creation of the best system to control possible exports and imports of nuclear and other dangerous materials.

The Americans visited the Kazakh national nuclear center of Kurchatov to discuss a possibility of nuclear power engineering development in Kazakhstan and future Kazakh admission to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Second U.S. Medical Aid Consignment Arrives

LD2004131993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0955 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Atyrau April 20 TASS—A U.S. plane with a large consignment of medicines on board has arrived in Atyrau (former Guryev). This is the second American plane to bring such humanitarian aid to Kazakhstan. The first one landed a week ago in the airport of Almaty. The second plane has brought to Atyrau 14 tonnes of various medicines and medical equipment worth more than one million U.S. dollars.

The aid was delivered to the population of Atyrau region in accordance with the "Hope" project—the U.S. President's and the "Chevron" oil company's medical initiative. The "Chevron" company recently set up a powerful joint-stock "Tengiz Chevroil" enterprise in Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev, Suleymenov Meet With CSCE Delegation

LD2304212693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1917 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko for TASS]

[Text] Almaty April 23 TASS—"First-grade silo-based missiles are located on Kazakh territory. However, the republic, which has not signed the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Arms, is already implementing the document. Neither item related to nuclear arms will leave republican territory before the destruction," Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told a CSCE delegation headed by CSCE head and Swedish Foreign Minister Marghareta af Ugglas today.

The meeting also discussed Kazakh participate in CSCE as a fully-fledged member, the role of the authoritative organization in peaceful conflict settlement and protection of human rights and rights of ethnic minorities.

On the same day, the delegation was received at the parliament house. Kazakh Foreign Minister Tuleutay Suleymenov and his Swedish counterpart held negotiations.

Nazarbayev, Austria's Vranitzky Meet, Sign Agreements

LD2604132793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Correspondent Dukesh Baimbetov report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The expansion of bilateral cooperation in trade and economic affairs and progress in implementing a memorandum signed earlier in Vienna on attracting investment were the subjects discussed during a meeting between Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev. After their talks, the two government delegations joined the talks. Austria and Kazakhstan decided to begin implementing 19 joint projects. Approximately 5.5 million Austrian schillings will be invested in the reconstruction of the Karaganda iron and steel combine, enabling it to produce goods which will be competitive in the world market. Large investments are also being made in the

processing sector, health care and transport. Incidentally, agreements on air links between Austria and Kazakhstan and on encouraging and protecting investments were also signed, along with other documents.

Parliamentary Team Visits China, Discusses Economic Ties

LD2404102293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 24 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing April 24 TASS—Economic relations with China cannot compensate to Kazakhstan the loss it incurred due to break up of economic ties which followed the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, Serikbolsyn Abdildin, chairman of the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet, who is on an official visit to China, said. Notwithstanding it cooperation between China and Kazakhstan has vast prospects in the future.

The leadership of the republic adheres to the point of view that within the CIS framework we should immediately "put right everything what has been created during the past 70 years, when intercourse with other states is in addition to what we are going to have within the Commonwealth," the head of the Kazakh Parliament noted.

During his talks with the Chinese chairman Jiang Zemin and chairman of the permanent committee of the National People's Congress Qiao Shi, Serikbolsyn Abdildin had substantial discussions on the further development of bilateral relations in the sphere of economy as well as sphere of culture. Both sides discovered similarity of views on many problems of good-neighbourliness, he said.

"If we and China synchronise our watches and directions in politics, it will become quite weighty for the Asian region, and China, undoubtedly, will to a specific degree influence states which were earlier formed parts of the former Soviet Union," he added.

Replying to a question by ITAR-TASS about the aims of the forthcoming visit to Almaty by Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng in May, Serikbolsyn Abdildin emphasised that the topic of the forthcoming talks will be an improvement in economic cooperation. According to the Kazakh parliament speaker, this can be extended to cover certain raw materials, and also to trade in ferrous metallurgy products of Kazakhstan and grain.

According to some estimates, there has been a turnover of 60 million U.S. dollars between China and Kazakhstan in 1992. Mainly fertilizers and tractors are exported to China in exchange for industrial and consumer goods.

The same day the Kazakh parliamentary delegation leaves by air for Urumchi, the administrative centre of the Xinjiang-Uygur autonomous region of China from where it will fly on to Almaty tomorrow.

Pakistani Supreme Court Delegation Arrives for Visit

LD2204192193 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0600 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] A delegation of the Supreme Court of the Islamic republic of Pakistan, led by its chairman, Muhhamad Abzal Dulah, has arrived in Kazakhstan on an official visit. The guests visited Shymkent and Turkistan town, and held talks at the South Kazakhstan Oblast court and the oblast administration. In Almaty they participated in a plenum of the republic Supreme Court and delivered speeches.

According to the program, it is envisaged that the delegation will hold talks with the head of Kazakhstan, constitutional [word indistinct] courts, ministers of foreign affairs and justice, and will go sightseeing in Almaty Oblast.

As a result of this visit, which will end on 24 April, it is anticipated that joint documents on cooperation within the court systems of the two countries will be signed.

Government Agrees to Cultural Exchanges With Iran

LD1604202493 Tehran IRNA in English 1536 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, April 16, IRNA—The Islamic Republic of Iran and the newly independent Republic of Kazakhstan on Friday agreed on diversifying cultural exchanges between the two countries, it was said in the wake of meetings in Almaty between Iran's Culture and Islamic Guidance Minister 'Ali Larijani and Kazakh officials.

The Iranian minister arrived in Almaty for a two-day visit Thursday night at the head of a delegation.

On Friday Larijani conferred with the Kazakh Education Minister Rakhmandiyev Erkegali [name as received] and they both agreed to nominate a week in the capitals of the two countries for culture activities. The first culture-week of Kazakhstan is to be offered in Tehran next June.

Larijani and the Kazakh Minister of Sports and International Tourism Karatay Turysov agreed to take action for eliminating the stumbling blocks in the tourism organizations of both countries as a device for promoting mutual tourism between Iran and Kazakhstan.

The Iranian minister also conferred with Kazakh Minister for Press and News Media Altynbek Sarsenbayev and agreed on the establishment of regional bureaus of their respective news agencies in Almaty and Tehran, and the establishment of permanent book exhibitions in Tehran and Almaty, and the participation at Tehran international book expos of publishers in Kazakhstan.

The Iranian delegates are to proceed to Kyrgyz Republic in the second step of their tour of Central Asian states.

Nazarbayev Meets Private Farmers, Promises Support

LD2504144093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 0100 GMT 24 Apr 93

[Text] At a meeting held on 23 April with heads of farms, President Nursultan Nazarbayev said: We can firmly count on positive results in agriculture only if peasants welcome reforms and help carry them out. Currently there are over 11,000 farms in the republic. The state aims at building a persistent policy toward farmers' movements. First of all, the necessary legal guarantees for its development have been created. The agro-industrial complex, farms included, was granted credits. A special program of support for new farmers exists. This year, one billion rubles were allocated for this purpose from the budget. It certainly is not the needed amount but even this was not simple to be tailored off under the existing economic crisis. Enterprises of the agricultural machine-building of the republic began producing mini-tractors, motorized cultivators, motorized vehicles, full kits of add-on tools and produce processing equipment. All-round help to farmers can and should be rendered by the state agronomical and veterinary services, state and collective farms. It is important now to teach people to run their private businesses. Since February, a republican Farmers' School is available. Farmers are also educated at higher educational institutions, secondary vocational schools, and training centers. The state will help some heads of private farms to be trained by farmers in developed countries.

Nursultan Nazarbayev is of the opinion that we should adjust the earlier adopted program for development of private farming and determine in it the main guidelines for crediting, material and technical supply, and development of social structures. The main role here belongs to our Agricultural Academy. It must render real help to the Farmers' Association. Many participants of the meeting presented businesslike proposals on the development of the private farmers' movement in the republic. Over 30 people spoke at it. They all spoke about the necessity of privileged crediting of farmers and expanding the term of tax holidays; they voiced their wish to set up the Farmer of Kazakhstan Fund and asked for help to buy on privileged conditions the equipment for produce processing. The president and Zhanibek Karibzhanov, deputy prime minister and chair of the State Property Committee, as well as Agriculture Minister Baltash Tursunbayev answered numerous questions by those present. Summing up, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that farmers should know how to earn means and then they will be able to without special hopes placed on the state buy all that they need by themselves. They will be given promotion in this as well as all- round state support.

Officials Blame Recession on Lack of Power Structure

LD2004185393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1608 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatyev]

[Text] Almaty April 20 TASS—"The Kazakh social-economic situation is gradually deteriorating. People's protest and despair may replace patience and wisdom," is the opinion of ex-members of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Committee on Economic Reform and current head of the state Anti-Monopoly Committee Petr Svoik and head of the Main Tax Inspection Marat Ospanov.

Their interview was published today by the republican KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper.

A major reason for the production recession and price increase is "not specific structures or officials, but the very power system," they said. In the officials' opinion, Kazakhstan has no actual division of power, since it has no permanent parliament.

"It is hard to find a single deputy, who is independent from the executive power. They are lobbyists as regards the legislative body, since the deputies consider each bill depending on its use for their permanent employment.

"The parliament wraps up in insignificant law-making, putting aside the solution of major issues. It is high time for the Supreme Soviet to resign after the soonest adoption of a progressive law 'on elections'. Quicker reforms in the executive power are also necessary, since this power branch does not accept any control on the part of law-makers, especially in the financial sphere," said the officials.

They insist "on legislative registration of sovereign Kazakhstan's adherence to the economic and political union with Russia and other Commonwealth states, as well as its readiness to create joint plenipotentiary power and management bodies on a set of common issues".

Kyrgyzstan

President Satisfied With Visit to Japan

PM2604124593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "Askar Akayev Satisfied With Tokyo Trip, Wishes B. Yeltsin Success in Referendum"]

[Text] Tokyo—Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev has ended his official visit to Tokyo. In accordance with protocol, the visitor from Bishkek had an audience with the emperor of Japan, met briefly with the head of the cabinet, and held talks with the finance and trade and industry ministers and with the chairman of the Bank of Japan.

The Japanese media note that the Kyrgyz president is the first of the former USSR's heirs to visit the country since the breakup of the Union. His trip was motivated to a considerable extent by the fact that Japan has been pushing for the inclusion of the five former Central Asian republics of the USSR in the list of developing countries covered by official Western aid programs.

At a meeting with Askar Akayev, the Japanese finance minister noted that yen credits to Kyrgyzstan are not

possible until accords have been reached between Bishkek and the IMF. If that happens Tokyo is prepared to provide Bishkek with credits worth $60 million, mainly through World Bank channels, for the development of the republic's infrastructure and enterprise modernization.

Moreover, the Japanese side has allocated $1 million as aid for vaccination programs. This money will be handled by the UN Children's Fund, rather than by the reoublic itself, and the money will be used to buy vaccines and the relevant equipment from Japan itself. It should also be mentioned that the Japanese have decided to grant Kyrgyzstan humanitarian aid worth $2.25 million through the Red Cross, while the Bank of Japan intends to share with Kyrgyz financial people its experience of organizing the financial sphere.

Akayev was satisfied with the trip, since, as people in the know say, it was hinted in Tokyo that, thanks to its small size and on condition that stability and the course of reforms are maintained, the republic has every chance of becoming the "Western aid model" for former Soviet Central Asia. As early as May, Akayev said in Tokyo, the republic will introduce its own currency unit and step firmly outside the ruble zone. To what extent the latter factor will assist the credit flow is unclear, however—it makes sense to wait for an agreement between Bishkek and the IMF.

During the visit Askar Akayev said that he resolutely supports Boris Yeltsin's policy of reforms. He voiced the hope that the transformations in Russia will succeed and expressed a desire for the development of friendly relations with the Russian Federation. The Kyrgyzstan president said that he very much hopes that people will back President Yeltsin in the upcoming 25 April referendum. In an interview for the NHK television company, A. Akayev suggested that if B. Yeltsin is defeated, the conservatives, who have supporters in all the CIS countries, "will set about restoring the former communist empire." "It would be the start of a civil war, a major cataclysm on the vast Eurasian continent."

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Lauds Military Cooperation With Russia

PM2604134993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Military Engaged in Unique and Productive Cooperation"]

[Text] "The military cooperation between Turkmenistan and Russia is unique and productive, while the Russian military's contribution to establishing the Turkmen National Army is indisputable and invaluable," Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov stated at a ceremony to confer independent Turkmenistan's military awards—the "Edermenlik" ("For Valor") Medals.

The first holders of the national military decorations are Turkmenistan's Defense Minister Danatar Kopekov and Deputy Defense Minister Nikolay Kormiltsev, commander of the Independent Combined-Arms Army of Turkmenistan, who has received a new assignment in Moscow.

The decoration of Nikolay Kormiltsev, who headed the military contingent under the joint command of Turkmenistan and Russia, dispelled the rumors of his retirement over the arrest of Russian servicemen for various violations, including arms dealing.

"There is no connection whatsoever between this incident and the general's departure to Moscow," Turkmenistan's defense minister told an ITAR-TASS corespondent. "The life of the military is structured according to its own laws. As far as the cases of violations by Russian servicemen are concerned, they are being investigated by the Turkmen Military Prosecutor's Office. The culprits will be handed over to the jurisdiction of the Russian Prosecutor's Office on the basis of its decision."

No matter how regrettable this incident may be in itself, the minister remarked, it does not cast a shadow on the military cooperation of our two states, which is undertaken in our mutual defense interests.

Vadim Cherepov, Russian ambassador to Turknmenistan, is not inclined to overdramatize the situation in the sphere of our two states' military cooperation, either. In his view, a complicated but prefectly natural process is now under way to activate the mechanism of cooperation, which is still far from developed as a result of many objective factors which have to some extent slowed the military talks down but have in no way frozen them. There are notably no legal levers whereby particular conflicts could have been resolved. Violations of procedure governing the detention of arrested Russian servicemen in Turkmenistan remand centers, the administering of equal punishment for offenses which are incomparable in terms of gravity, bureaucracy and negligence in questions of dividing up property, and much else besides are due, in the ambassador's opinion, to the lack of legal regulations.

Armenia

President Briefs Diplomats on Results of Talks in Ankara

NC2304202893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Excerpts] The Armenian Presidential Press Service has informed our correspondent that Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received the Russian, Chinese, and French ambassadors and the U.S., German, and Iranian charges d'affaires ad interim on 23 April.

The Armenian president briefed the diplomats on the various meetings he held during his stay in Ankara, where he attended the funeral for Turkish President Turgut Ozal. He stressed the importance of the meetings he held with Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey and Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel.

According to Ter-Petrosyan, a desire to establish a cease-fire and solve the Karabakh conflict through talks is being observed. He hoped that the talks will resume soon.

The Armenian president told the diplomats that he expects their countries to mediate and thus contribute to the efforts being made within the CSCE framework.

Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan, First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan, and Davit Shakhnazaryan, the president's ambassador on special missions, also were present at the meeting.

Talks were held in Ankara between Ter-Petrosyan and Elchibey, who had gone to Turkey to attend Ozal's funeral. Following the meeting, Ter-Petrosyan stated that both sides are ready to start serious talks within the CSCE framework to peacefully resolve the Karabakh problem and consider it necessary to stop the military operations. The Armenian president stressed that he was pleased with the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. [passage omitted]

The following conclusions can be drawn from the talks:

First, terminating the armed conflict and finding a political solution to the problem could be possible in the near future.

Second, intervention by a third side in the conflict should be precluded.

Third, the peaceful resolution of the problem should be one single process, and all sides to the conflict should come forward with coordinated proposals, plans, and mediation efforts within the CSCE framework.

The meetings between the Russian, Armenian, Turkish, U.S., Ukrainian, and Georgian leaders also played a decisive role in this matter because all the leaders, including Demirel, became convinced that the immediate establishment of a cease-fire in Karabakh is necessary.

Official: Leaders Hope ICO To Help Settle Conflict

LD2604192693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Edvard Nalbandyan, the Armenian president's special envoy, told ITAR-TASS in a telephone interview today that the Armenian leadership hoped that the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] will play a positive part in the search for peaceful ways of settling the conflict in Nagorno- Karabakh. He revealed that within the framework of the ICO foreign ministers meeting, he had met Hamid Alhabid, secretary general of the organization, and handed him a message from Armenia's President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

Border Peace Talks With Nakhichevan Held

LD2704090993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] The press service of the Armenian president has reported a meeting between representatives of the Armenian leadership and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. The sides agreed to take measures to avert conflict situations on the border between the two republics.

Azerbaijan

President's Office Denies Cease-Fire Agreement Reached

NC2604194393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Arif Aliyev, head of the presidential press service, briefed journalists on the situation on the front today. He said that a temporary peaceful situation has prevailed for the past few days. According to the Defense Ministry, Zangelanskiy Rayon was shelled by the Armenian Armed Forces with artillery guns. One of the shells fell on Iranian territory. The Armenians also fired on Agdam and Sadarak two days ago. The situation in other areas has not changed. He noted that the UN Security Council will again consider the question of Kelbadzhar's occupation today.

Recalling the rumors by Russia that Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Daghlyk Karabakh have concluded a cease-fire agreement to channel the talks on the incidents in Kelbadzhar in a specific direction, Arif Aliyev refuted the reports and said that no cease-fire agreement has been reached. A decision has been made to implement a cease-fire for two days to provide security for the CSCE representatives to visit Khankendi, Shusha, and [placename indistinct]. Aliyev asserted: Talks can be resumed when the Armenian occupation army withdraws from Kelbadzhar.

Later, Aliyev denied the claims that information on the incidents in Kelbadzhar was not sent to the United Nations on time. He said: We have a significant amount of evidence

proving that Kelbadzhar has been occupied by the Armenian military forces and not by the self- defense forces in Yukhary Karabakh. The evidence we have, including the reports published by the international and local press organs, the texts of the communications between the Armenians and Russians by field radios during Kelbadzhar's occupation, and eyewitness accounts, has been conveyed to the international deputies.

Aliyev gave high praise to the foreign countries that have decided to invest in Azerbaijan despite the war and said that their decision confirms that the Republic [words indistinct] economic cooperation. Aliyev also said that Azerbaijan is holding talks with Turkey, Pakistan, Israel, Switzerland, Belgium, and other countries on investments.

Calls Russian Cease-Fire Statement 'Pressure'

LD2604212893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1507 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents Sevinj Abdullayeva and Natan Barskiy for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 26 Apr—Arif Aliyev, head of the Azerbaijan president's press service, said that the relative lull in the area of hostilities has been caused by the visit to the region of a preparatory technical mission from the CSCE. He denied the statement made at the UN by a Russian Federation representative to the effect that the cease-fire was the result of Armenian- Azerbaijani talks allegedly conducted with Moscow's mediation.

Qualifying this statement of the Russian diplomat as pressure on Azerbaijan from Russia's official circles, Aliyev noted that, to all appearances, the aim was to "delay the discussion of the issue until the time when a Russian Federation representative would chair the UN Security Council meeting."

Expounding the official Baku stand, the press secretary emphasized that Azerbaijan stands for strict observance by Yerevan of the demands from the CSCE Minsk group concerning the withdrawal of Armenian armed formations from the territory of Kelbadzharskiy rayon. He also drew attention to the fact that despite the existing agreement to impose temporary cease-fire, Armenia continued to shell populated localities in Azerbaijan. In particular, the territory of Zangelanskiy, Kubatlinskiy, Agdamskiy, and several other rayons in the republic were shelled from rocket launchers and artillery weapons.

Minority Cooperation Agreement With Russia Drafted

NC2604195693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Apr 93

[Text] Azerbaijan and Russia have concluded a draft agreement to cooperate with minority communities and safeguard their rights. The draft agreement will be debated by Russia's Foreign Ministry and State Committee for Ethnic Affairs.

[Name indistinct] newspaper has reported that the relevant departments in Azerbaijan will also debate the draft agreement soon. Our departments are expected to approve the agreement.